

T. L. 4

A CANDID  
E N Q U I R Y  
INTO THE  
CAUSES and MOTIVES  
OF THE

Late RIOTS in the PROVINCE of MUNSTER in  
I R E L A N D;

BY THE PEOPLE CALLED  
WHITE-BOYS or LEVELLERS.

With an

A P P E N D I X,  
Containing other P A P E R S on the same  
S U B J E C T.

I N A  
L E T T E R  
T O  
A Noble LORD in ENGLAND.

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*Homo sum, humani nihil a me alienum puto. TER.*

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L O N D O N

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## C O N T E N T S.

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## P R E F A C E.

**T**HE materials of the following Letter are drawn from notes taken at the trials of the criminals by some of their jury, and by others, prejudiced, indeed, not in their favour, but, against them;---from the verbal accounts of credible and unbiassed men, who carefully attended at these trials;—and from the dying declarations of the criminals themselves.

As no reasonable objection can lye against the first (which is the chief) part of these materials; so the relations of credible ear and eye-witnesses, concerning recent facts, (which, if false, may be easily contradicted) is, surely, a competent ground of true history. And, as for the solemn testimonies of reputable men, in their last moments, they have ever carried great force of persuasion with them, in the estimation of wise and candid persons of all ages, nations, and professions; and they must carry still greater in the instances before us, because the men in question might have preserved their lives, by giving evidence contrary to these testimonies.

This last material circumstance was wanting in the late famous case of the unfortunate Calas, a French protestant, unjustly put to death, on the score of religion, by the cruel sentence of bigotted judges; the improbability of his guilt, joined to his solemn denial of it, at his execution, having, alone, proved sufficient to raise him so many able, and zealous advocates in different parts of Europe; and particularly excited the French court to have his sentence reversed, and censured; whereby his family at least had some amends made them in their injured reputation. Nor were the  
chiefs

## P R E F A C E.

chiefs of the French clergy themselves, less forward than the court in shewing their beneficence on this very melancholy occasion; for, upon receiving information of the wants and distresses of his son Lewis Calas, they, in \* their last general assembly, came to a resolution to make him a present of one hundred louisdores; and to settle a pension upon him for life, out of their own fund: an example of humanity, justice, and generosity, as worthy of imitation, on the present occasion, as it is unlikely, from the present temper of many powerful men in the country † where the tragedy we are going to speak of was acted, that it will ever be imitated, at least by those, upon whom these gentlemen can have the slightest influence.

\* See the Amsterdam Gazette, August 1, 1766, and other public papers.

† See note \* page 17.



A C A N 2

## A CANDID

## ENQUIRY, &amp;c.

My LORD,

**I**N obedience to your Lordship's commands, I now send you a brief account of that miserable gang of rioters in Munster, which, for these last four years, has given such just offence, and, at the same time, raised so many groundless jealousies and fears in different parts of this kingdom. But, as I purpose to send you nothing but what is authentic on this subject, so I must take the liberty to caution your Lordship against giving credit to any of those flying reports, which you may meet with on your side of the water; as they are all transmitted from hence by those very persons, or their agents, whose tyrannical oppressions of the poor in that province did at first provoke, and have since increased, these tumults to their late exorbitant height; and who have no other way of concealing their own guilt, but by laying heavy accusations on the innocent and defenceless.

The first, and principal, cause of these riots and disturbances, as set forth in an ingenious and candid little Tract, published in 1762,\* (which, to this day, remains

\* An Inquiry into the Causes of the Outrages committed by the Levellers, or White boys, in the Province of Munster, by M. S. Esq; See the Appendix.

unanswered, and, for aught I have heard to the contrary, even uncontradicted) is briefly, my Lord, as followeth.

“ Some landlords in Munster have set their lands  
 “ to cottiers far above their value; and, to lighten  
 “ their burthen, allowed commonage to their tenants,  
 “ by way of recompence: afterwards, in despite of  
 “ all equity, contrary to all compacts, the land-  
 “ lords enclosed these commons, and precluded  
 “ their unhappy tenants from the only means of  
 “ making their bargains tolerable. The Law, in-  
 “ deed, is open to redress them; but they do not  
 “ know the Laws, or how to proceed; or, if they  
 “ did know them, they are not equal to the expence  
 “ of a suit against a rich tyrant. Besides, the greatest  
 “ part of these tenures are by verbal agreement,  
 “ not by written compact. Here is another diffi-  
 “ culty: If these wretches should apply to Law,  
 “ what could they do in this case? They were too  
 “ ignorant of the principles of equity, to seek a rea-  
 “ sonable redress: They had too deep a sense of their  
 “ sufferings, to feel the less pungent call of virtue;  
 “ nay, they thought equity was on their side, and  
 “ iniquity on the part of their landlords, and thence  
 “ flew with eagerness to what is ever the resource of  
 “ low and uncultivated minds, VIOLENCE.”

A second cause of these tumults, my Lord, is  
 the price of land for potatoes; from whence arises a  
 third cause, as grievous as either of the former two,  
 namely, the cruel exactions of tythe-mongers: For,  
 as the same tract observes, “ It is not uncommon  
 “ in Munster to charge from four to five guineas  
 “ per acre for potatoe-ground; but we shall sup-  
 “ pose the price but four guineas, that is ninety-  
 “ one shillings: The daily wages for labourers is  
 “ four pence per day: There are three hun-  
 “ dred and sixty-five days in the year, of which  
 “ fifty-two are Sundays; and suppose but thirteen  
 “ holidays, the remainder is three hundred working  
 “ days; the wages for which is an hundred shillings,  
 “ that



“ that is nine shillings above the price of their land ;  
 “ of which nine shillings five are paid for the tythe ;  
 “ and two for hearth-money ; and the remaining two  
 “ go towards the rent of their cabbin. What is left ?  
 “ Nothing.—And, out of this nothing, they are to  
 “ buy seed for their garden, salt for their potatoes, and  
 “ rags for themselves, their wives, and their children.  
 “ —It must be observed, that in this calculation  
 “ I have mentioned three hundred working days,  
 “ though it is known, from the greater number of  
 “ holidays observed in that part of the kingdom than  
 “ in any other, from the number of wet, and broken  
 “ days, joined with the natural laziness of the peo-  
 “ ple, there are not above two hundred days, for  
 “ which they are paid.—What an aggravation  
 “ does this make in the account ? And will the best  
 “ crop of potatoes enable them to maintain a family,  
 “ often of six or eight persons, under the difficulties  
 “ we have mentioned ?

“ It is this exorbitant rent which produces the  
 “ complaint of tythes. Ready money they have  
 “ not ; the reward of their labour goes in payment  
 “ of their rent ; they can seldom amass the mighty  
 “ sum of two shillings to pay their hearth-money ;  
 “ how then shall they collect five shillings for tythes ?—  
 “ The clergymen in that country possess livings of  
 “ vast extent, and little emolument : There are  
 “ some livings which have a thousand acres under  
 “ black cattle. Here the incumbent gets nothing ;  
 “ and the cottiers gardens become his principal sup-  
 “ port.—A gentleman of birth, perhaps, piety, and  
 “ learning, is brought to the disagreeable necessity of  
 “ chaffering with a set of poor wretches for two-pence,  
 “ or six-pence, in a bargain, or forego the support of his  
 “ own family. This business grows irksome to him,  
 “ and he seeks some one person, who will take the  
 “ whole trouble upon him. The distress of the pa-  
 “ rishoner is heightened by this agreement ; and the  
 “ tythe-monger, who is generally more rapacious  
 “ than

“ than humane, squeezes out the very vitals of the  
 “ people; and, by process, citation, and sequestra-  
 “ tion, drags from them the little, which the land-  
 “ lord and the king had left them.

“ These,” continues my Author, “ are the real,  
 “ and apparent causes of the rioters conduct: In all  
 “ their circular letters they have desired a redress of  
 “ these grievances; and, in the small compass of my  
 “ reading, I find no nation that has not had tumults  
 “ from such, or like causes, without religion coming  
 “ into the question.”

Although, my Lord, the present humour of giving  
 the formidable name of a Popish rebellion to  
 these disturbances; has, indeed, something in it ex-  
 ceedingly ridiculous, whether we consider the few-  
 ness, insignificance, and nakedness of the persons  
 concerned; or the obvious impossibility of the suc-  
 cess of such an undertaking: yet I shall endeavour  
 to treat that delusion with as much seriousness, as the  
 folly and extravagance of it will admit; or rather,  
 as the tragical use, that has been of late made of it,  
 will naturally extort from me.

But I must first remind your Lordship, that this  
 is not the only time, that the Province of Munster has  
 been alarmed with vain and idle panics of this kind.  
 HENRY, Earl of Clarendon, Lord Lieutenant of this  
 kingdom, in 1685, takes notice, in one of his Let-  
 ters\*, that in his Time, “ there were great rumours  
 “ in the counties of Waterford and Cork, of plots,  
 “ and designs of rising; and that several informa-  
 “ tions had been brought to him of great meetings, in  
 “ the night, of armed men; but that, upon his finding  
 “ there were no just grounds for these informations  
 “ and reports, he had directed the justices of the  
 “ peace, at the assizes, to give it in charge to the  
 “ grand juries, to present all these reports of risings,  
 “ as spread with a malicious intention to disturb the

\* State Letters.

“ peace,

“ peace of the kingdom. And this (his Lordship adds) had a good effect; for several persons were indicted on that account; and people were very quiet as to that matter, ever after, in Munster.”

Had some such course as this, my Lord, been taken in the present case; or, had these rioters been patiently heard, and moderately redressed, in the beginning, these disturbances would, probably, have long since ceased. A ludicrous passage, in the reign of James I. in England, (yet similar, in its cause, to the tragedy now acting in Ireland) may chance to throw some light on this conjecture: “ A commotion was stirred up by some commoners, against engrossing their ground, when the king chanced to be invited, in his hunting journey, to dine with Sir Thomas—and turning short at the corner of a common, happened near to a country-man sitting by the heels in the stocks, who cried Hosanna! to his majesty; which invited the king to ask the reason of his restraint. Sir Thomas said, it was stealing geese from the common: The fellow replied, who is the greatest thief, I, for stealing geese from the common, or his worship, for stealing the common from the geese?—The king immediately ordered the common to be restored to the poor, and the witty fellow to be released; and care was taken to quiet the commotions.\*”

In the Year 1762, when these riots first commenced, we were at open war with France, and often threatend with an invasion from thence; for which reason, my Lord, an insurrection in its favour here was, undoubtedly, then, much more to be apprehended, than in any of these last four years of profound tranquility and peace with that kingdom; † and

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yet

\* Saunderfon, K. James.

† Two public incidents, on the part of France, that happened about that time, evidently prove, that neither then, nor since, was there any sort of agreement, combination, or understanding,

yet, even at that critical juncture, we were told by authority, “ That the authors of these riots, “ (in Munster) consisted indiscriminately of persons “ of different persuasions; and that no marks of “ disaffection to his majesty’s person or government “ appeared on that occasion, in any of these people.\*†

This authentic and public declaration was grounded on the reports of several persons of known loyalty and eminence in the law, who had been commissioned by the then government of Ireland, to enquire, on the spot, into the causes of these disturbances; the truth of which reports was, afterwards, confirmed by the going judges of assize; who, on that account, suffered much from the hatred, obloquy, and insolence of the disappointed bashaws of that Province. This my Lord, was particularly the case of Lord Chief Justice Aston, now with you in England, to whose testimony I appeal; and whose removal from hence, at this juncture, these people deeply regret; still following him with their most grateful wishes and prayers for his welfare.

It is well worthy of remark, that of the many unhappy men, that were executed for outrages committed in these riots, from the beginning to the present time, not a single person was convicted of rebellion, though uncommon pains have been taken, and means used, at all their tryals, to prove them guilty of that crime; nor has there been one of these so executed, that did not, at his death, publicly and solemnly deny, that he had ever entertained a thought of that kind †. In July, 1762, five of these rioters,

ing, between that court and the papists of Ireland, for the purpose of an invasion. First, the order published by the French king, during the last war, for banishing all the Irish, as well as English, out of his dominions; which was strictly executed. And, secondly, his breaking or reforming the Irish regiments, (which, surely, would have been the properest of all his troops to invade Ireland) after the peace was concluded.

\* London Gazette, Whitehall, May, 1762.

† See their speeches, annexed to queries concerning the White Boys.

viz,

viz. Darby Brown, Patrick Brown, David Ahearn, Richard Haly, and Richard Power, were hanged at Waterford, for being present at the burning down the cabin of John Fowloe, (upon the information of John Corkeran, one of their gang, and the very person, who, with his own hand, set fire to it.) Yet these wretches solemnly declared, at the place of execution, " That it never entered into their thoughts to do any " thing against the king, or the government." Which declaration, my Lord, coming from persons in the instant they were going to the dead, must be convincing with all, but such as will not be persuaded, though one rose from the dead to convince them.

But the person most of all obnoxious on this occasion, and whose life was most eagerly sought after, on a real, or affected, supposition of his having primarily stirred up, and (with French money and officers) supported these rioters for the purpose of rebellion, was one Nicholas Sheehy, parish priest of Clogheen. This Sheehy, my Lord, was a giddy, officious, but not ill-meaning, man, with somewhat of a quixotish cast of mind towards the relieving of all those, whom he fancied to be injured or distressed; and, setting aside his unavoidable connexion with these rioters, (for some hundreds of them were his parishioners) a person of good character in all other respects. In the course of these disturbances, he had been often indicted, and tried as a popish priest; but, no sufficient evidence appearing against him on that charge, he was always acquitted, to his own great misfortune; for, had he been convicted, his punishment, which was only transportation, might have prevented his ignominious death, which soon after followed.

In 1765, the government was prevailed upon to issue a proclamation against him, as guilty of high treason, offering an extraordinary reward of three hundred pounds for taking him; which Sheehy, in his retreat, happening to hear of, immediately wrote



up to secretary W---te, acquainting him, that, as he was not conscious to himself of any such crime, he would save the government the reward offered for taking him, by surrendering himself out of hand, to be tried for any crime he was accused of; not at Clonmell, (where he feared the power and malice of his enemies were too prevalent for justice) but at the court of King's-bench, in Dublin.

His proposal being accepted, he was accordingly brought up to Dublin, and tried there for rebellion; of which, however, after a severe scrutiny of fourteen hours, (and none but a black-guard-boy, a common prostitute, and an impeached thief, appearing against him,) he was fully, and honourably, acquitted.

But his enemies, who pursued him to Dublin, had vowed his destruction, at all events; for, after his acquittal for rebellion, he was indicted for the murder of one Bridge, who had informed against some of these rioters, and was (it is said) murdered by them, in revenge. Sheehy (notwithstanding the promise given him, on surrendering himself to the government) was transmitted to Clonmell, to be tried there for this new crime; and, upon the oaths of the same infamous witnesses \*, whose testimonies had been justly rejected in Dublin, was condemned to be hanged, and quartered.

The night before the execution, which was but the second after his sentence, he wrote a letter to Major Sirr, wherein he declared his innocence of the crime for which he was next day to suffer. And, on the morning of that day, just before he was brought forth to execution, he, in the presence of the sub-sheriff, and a clergyman who attended him, again declared his innocence of the murder; solemnly protesting, at the same time, as he was a dying man, and just going to appear before the most awful of tribunals,

† Quere whether any other witnesses were produced.



that he never had engaged any of the rioters in the service of the French king, by tendering them oaths, or otherwise; that he never had distributed money among them on that account; nor had ever received money from France, or any other foreign court, either directly, or indirectly, for any such purpose: that he never knew of any French, or other foreign officers being among those rioters; or of any Roman Catholics of property, or note, being concerned or connected with them.

Meehan \*, who suffered with him for the same fact, made the like solemn declaration of his innocence, as to all these particulars.

From the infamy of the witnesses †, on whose testimonies this unhappy man was convicted at Clonmell, your Lordship will be apt to think, that he was not very equitably dealt with at his trial. You will think so the more, when I tell you, what is a known matter of fact, that, on the day of his trial, a party of horse surrounded the C---t, admitting, and excluding

\* John Henderkin swore that he lay the whole night that Bridge was sworn to have been murdered in Meehan's House.---That he did not sleep an hour all that night.---That Meehan could not go out unknown to him.---That he found him (Meehan) at work in the morning, &c. See the Appendix.

† Mary Brady swore she followed Michael Kearney, to the place where Bridge was murdered, in the night, October 1764, though Flannery, Gorman, Keating, Keef, and Ann Hallan, positively swore, that Kearney had left the kingdom before in April 1763, and had not then returned. Mary Brady's mother and sister swore, that, on the said night of the murder, she (Mary Brady) slept with them in the same bed; and all the night before and after, and did not leave them; and that she was not to be believed upon her oath. See ib. John Toohy, the other witness, confessed, that he was committed for horse-stealing,---that he first gave in Examinations against the prisoners about a month after his committal;---swore that he lived with Buxton three years, though Buxton dying solemnly declared that he never lived a day with him;---swore John Butler, and Thomas Magrath were present at the murder; though the first was proved to be lying sick of a fever at the time; and the other absent. See ib.

whom

whom they thought proper; while others of them, with a certain knight at their head, scampered the streets in a formidable manner; forcing into inns, and private lodgings, in the town; challenging, and questioning, all new-comers; menacing his friends, and encouraging his enemies.---Even after sentence of death was pronounced against him, (which, one would think, might have fully satisfied his enemies) Mr. S---w, his attorney, declares, that he found it necessary for his safety, to steal out of the town by night, and with all possible speed to escape to Dublin.

During his tryal, Mr. Keating, a person of known property and credit in that country, giving the clearest and fullest evidence, that, on the whole night of the supposed murder of Bridge, the prisoner, Nicholas Sheehy, had lain in his house; that he could not have left it in the night-time without his knowledge; and, consequently, that he could not be even present at the murder.---The revd. Mr. H--- on stood up; and, after looking on a paper that he held in his hand, informed the court, that he had Mr. Keating's name on his list, as one of those that were concerned in the murder of the serjeant and corporal at New-market\*; upon which Mr. Keating was immediately hurried away to Kilkenny goal; where he lay for some time, loaded with irons, in a dark and loathsome dungeon. By this proceeding, my Lord, not only his evidence was rendered useless to Sheehy, but also that of many others was prevented, who came to testify the same thing; but who instantly withdrew themselves, for fear of meeting with the same treatment.

\* The killing of these two men happened in a rescue of some of these rioters, whom a small guard were carrying to prison. The rescuers paid dearly for their rashness; for above thirty of them were mortally wounded by the guard, and died in goal. Some of them died on cars as they were carrying to goal. Those of them, who did not die of their wounds, were hanged.

Mr.

Mr. Keating was afterwards tried for the New-market murder at the assizes of Kilkenny; but by the palpable and manifold prevarications, contradictions, and perjuries of the prosecutors, was soon, and honourably acquitted. -- The purpose, however, of Mr. H——on, and his employers, was fully answered. For Sheehy, my Lord, had been hanged and quartered some time before, *on the oaths of these very prosecutors.*

Every body knows, that Sheehy could, if he pleased, have made his escape to France, when he first heard of the proclamation for taking him; and, as it is pretended, that he was, from the beginning of these disturbances, a faithful agent for the French king, he could not doubt of finding a kind reception, and suitable recompence for his services, in any part of his dominions. Now, my Lord, be pleased to consider, would he, or would any man, conscious of the complicated guilt of rebellion and murder, have wilfully neglected the double opportunity, of escaping the punishment due to such crimes, and of living at his ease, and in safety, in another kingdom? Would he thus freely have submitted himself to a public tryal, without money, friends, interest, or connexions; and above all, without that innocence, on which alone he might rely? For my part, when I join in my mind these circumstances of his conduct with his solemn declaration of his innocence at his death, I cannot possibly conceive him guilty, without supposing him to have been, what no man ever was or ever will be at one and the same time; that is, a most senseless idiot, and a most artful hypocrite.

Emboldened by this success, the knight before mentioned published an advertisement, wherein he presumed to censure the wise and vigilant administrations of our two last chief governors, and even to charge them with the destruction of many of his majesty's subjects, for not having countenanced such measures, with respect to these rioters, as were mani-

festly

feebly repugnant to all the rules of prudence, justice, and humanity. Nor did his boldness stop there; for, naming a certain day in said advertisement, when the following persons of credit, and substance, viz. Edmond Sheehy, James Buxton, James Farrel, and others, were to be tried by commission at Clonmell, for the aforesaid murder of Bridge, (as if he meant, by numbers, to intimidate even their judges into lawless rigour and severity;) he sent forth an authoritative kind of summons "to every gentleman of the county to attend that commission," his summons was punctually obeyed by his numerous, and powerful friends; and his design succeeded to all their wishes; for these poor men, also, were then, and there, sentenced to be hanged and quartered.

Your Lordship will naturally ask, upon what new evidence this sentence was passed; not imagining, I believe, that any use was made of the former infamous witnesses on this occasion. Yes, my Lord, use was made of them, and a principal use too, in the conviction of these devoted men. But the managers for the crown, as they affected to call themselves, being either afraid, or ashamed, to trust the success of their cause to the now enfeebled testimonies of these miscreants, looked out for certain props, under the name of *approvers*, to strengthen and support their tottering evidence. These they soon found in the persons of Herbert, and Bier\*, two prisoners impeached, like the rest, for the murder of Bridge; and, who, tho' absolute strangers to it, were, nevertheless, in equal danger of being hanged for the same. Herbert†, a farmer, came to the assizes of Clonmell, in order to give evidence in favour of the priest Sheehy; but, his arrival being made known to the Grand Jury, (who, it was pretended, had found bills of high treason against him) they sent the witness Toohy, and — B—ll, Esq; attended by some of the light-horse, to take him prisoner, Herbert,

\* See the Appendix. † ib.

when taken, immediately became an evidence for the crown; but upon what motive, whether for the sake of justice, the fear of hanging, or the hopes of a reward, is left to your Lordship to determine.

As for Bier, the other approver, Mr. Sheehy, at his death, declared, " That he saw him take a voluntary oath more than once in the goal of Clonmell, (before he was converted into a witness for the crown) that he knew nothing of the murder of Bridge;" and adds, " That he believed him.\*" Yet this murder Bier swore against Buxton in particular; for which the latter was condemned, and executed.

The sum of Herbert's evidence was, " That he was called upon by Sheehy, and brought to a meeting of about twenty, or thirty, persons, assembled on the lands of Shambally, near Clogheen; where they were sworn by the priest Nicholas Sheehy, to murder John Bridge, John Bagwell, &c. and every other person who should oppose them; and that they would be faithful to the French king, conquer Ireland, and make it their own." †

Mr. Sheehy, at the place of execution, solemnly declared, " That he never saw Herbert, until the day of his trial; and that he never heard an oath of allegiance to any foreign king, or prince, proposed, or administered, in his life-time; nor ever knew any thing of the murder of Bridge, until he heard it publicly mentioned; nor did he know there ever was any such design on foot.‡ "

These, my Lord, are contradictory testimonies; and, therefore, one of them must be certainly false. But which of them that is, your Lordship may probably guess, by making a little reflection on the different circumstances of each. For my part, when I consider, on one hand, that these approvers were struck with the fear of death, and, at the same time, certain, that their pardon was to be obtained only by

\* ib. May. † ib. ‡ ib.



such testimony as they gave; (for which, however false, they knew they were not to be called to an immediate account in the next world; and might have flattered themselves with hopes of time, and opportunity, for repentance in this) and, on the other, when I recollect, that the dying prisoners had often rejected the like offer of pardon, rather than violate truth, or injure innocence: And that they solemnly denied the crimes they were to suffer for, in the very article of death; though conscious that they were instantly to account for such denial before an all-just, and all-seeing Judge: I say, my Lord, when I consider this wide difference between the testimonies of the accusers, and the accused, I cannot help concluding, that the oaths of the former were wilful P——s; prompted by the hopes of a pardon, of which the shedding of innocent blood was to be the only purchase; and that the solemn declarations of the latter were noble, and successful, efforts of truth, conscience, and honour, against the strongest temptations to the contrary, that the love of life, and the tenderest connections and endearments of this world could have thrown in their way.

But to return to Herbert's evidence; I shall say nothing, my Lord, as to that part of it, which mentions an oath taken by these rioters *to conquer Ireland*, because I would not so far offend against the present modish credulity on this occasion, as even to doubt of the ability and sufficiency of twenty, or thirty, of these raggamuffins to effect such a design. But I should be glad to be taught, how to reconcile their swearing allegiance to the French King, and that they would continue faithful to him, with their swearing, at the same time, to make *Ireland their own*, after they should have conquered it. If such palpable inconsistency be not a sure mark of a reluctant, confounded, and self-convicted witness, nothing, certainly, ever was.

But



But waving this advantage, the main drift and substance of this evidence are totally overturned by the oath of James Prendergast, Esq; a Witness for Mr Sheehy, perfectly unexceptionable in point of character, fortune, and religion. This gentleman deposed, " that on the day, and hour, on which  
 " the murder was sworn to have been committed,  
 " viz. about or between the hours of ten and eleven  
 " o'clock on the night of the 28th of October;  
 " 1764, Edmund Sheehy, the prisoner, was with  
 " him, and others, in a distant part of the country;  
 " —that they, and their wives had, on the afore-  
 " said 28th of October, dined at the house of Mr.  
 " Joseph Tennison, near Ardinan, in the county  
 " of Tipperary, where they continued until after  
 " supper; that it was about eleven o'clock, when  
 " he, and the prisoner, left the house of Mr. Tenni-  
 " son, and rode a considerable way together; on  
 " their return to their respective homes; that the  
 " prisoner had his wife behind him; —that, when  
 " they parted, he (Mr. Prendergast) rode directly  
 " home; where, on his arrival, he looked at the  
 " clock, and found it was the hour of twelve exact-  
 " ly.—That, as to the day of their dining with Mr.  
 " Tennison (Sunday the 28th) he was *positive* and  
 " *particular* from this circumstance; that the day  
 " following was to be the Fair-day of Clogheen;  
 " where he requested that Mr. Sheehy would dispose  
 " of some bullocks for him, himself not being able  
 " to attend that Fair." Paul Webber of Cork, but-  
 " cher, swore, " that he saw Mr. Sheehy, and conver-  
 " sed with him about Mr. Prendergast's bullocks,  
 " on the 29th of October, at the Fair of Clogheen :"  
 And the oath of Thomas Mason confirmed the particulars of the night, and the hour, of Mr. Sheehy's return home from Mr. Tennison's house\*."

Your

\* ib.

Your Lordship will, no doubt, be curious to know; what it was that could invalidate such credible, clear, and circumstantial evidence, in favour of the prisoner? It was, my Lord, Mr. Tennison's swearing, not any thing, indeed, that contradicted the substance of Mr Prendergast's evidence, but something that did not corroborate, and confirm it! For Tennison, in his deposition, confesses, \* " That Sheehy had " dined at his house in October, 1764." Nay, he does not directly deny that it was on the 28th of that month; for he only says, † " That he is inclined to think, it was earlier in the month than " the 28th †."—But is it not strange, my Lord, that such *positive* and *particular* proof, as that produced by Mr. Prendergast, with the circumstances of the day, and the hour, attested upon oath by two other witnesses, whose veracity seems not to have been questioned, should be over-ruled, and set aside, by the vague and indeterminate surmise of Mr. Tennison? Mr. Prendergast swears *positively* to the affirmative of Sheehy's dining at Mr. Tennison's House on the 28th of October, 1764. Mr. Tennison swears *doubtfully* to the negative; that is, " That " he is inclined to think that Mr Sheehy did not " dine at his house on the 28th." Is it not, my Lord, harder to prove a negative, than an affirmative; and, consequently, is not fuller, clearer, and more circumstantial evidence necessary to make out, and elucidate, the former, than the latter? And has not the reverse of this received maxim been adopted, and

\* It is to no purpose to alledge, that in the Account, from whence all this is taken, Mr Tennison says, that he is positive that Mr. Sheehy, and the company mentioned, did not dine with him more than once in October 1764. for whether they did or no, was not at all the question; the sole point to be determined in this case, was, whether they dined with him on the 28th of that Month, which he is far from *positively denying*; and only says, he is inclined to believe they did not.

† ib. † ib.

and avowed, in the present instance? Suppose my Lord, the evidence were equal on both sides, which is very far from being the fact, ought not judgement, in that case, to incline rather towards favour, than punishment? And shall Mr. Tennison's bare conjecture on the negative side, and that of punishment too, have more weight with *upright Judges*, and an *impartial Jury*, than Mr. Prendergast's positive, and particular oath on the affirmative side of favour, and mercy? If your Lordship should tell me for answer to these questions, that it has thus seemed meet to all the *Knight's* zealous friends, and lovers of justice; (and in truth, I see not what other answer can be given) I shall only reply with this hearty wish, and prayer, that God may preserve your Lordship, myself, and every honest man, from ever falling into the hands of such lovers of justice!

On Saturday morning, May 3d. 1766, these convicts were hanged and quartered at Clogheen, notwithstanding the frequent, and earnest solicitations of several persons of quality in their favour †; who, being persuaded of their innocence, hoped to obtain for them, if not a pardon, at least some mitigation of their punishment by transportation, or a reprieve.\*—Their behaviour at the place of execution was chearful, but devout; and modest, though resolute. It was impossible for any one in their circumstances to counterfeit that resignation, serenity, and

C pleasing

† The chief, and most active, of these worthy personages was the right honourable Lord viscount Taaffe; whose great goodness of heart, and unwearied endeavours, on all occasions, to serve his poor Countrymen, add new lustre to his Nobility; and will be for ever remembered by them with the warmest and most respectful gratitude.

\* It is no wonder that their solicitations were vain; for the Knight so often mentioned, Mr. B———, &c. &c. had been before with the L——d L——r, and declared that, if any favour were shewn to these people, they would follow the example of a noble p——r, and quit the kingdom in a body.

pleasing hope, which appeared so strikingly in all their countenances and gestures. Conscious of their innocence, they seemed to hasten to receive the reward prepared, in the next life, for those, who suffer patiently for its sake in this. For, not content to forgive, they prayed for, and blessed, their prosecutors, judges, and jury; as likewise all those, who might have been otherwise instrumental in their deaths. After they were tied up, and just before they were turned off, each of them, in his turn, read a paper aloud †, without tremor, hesitation, or other visible emotion; wherein they solemnly protested as dying christians, who were quickly to appear before the judgment-seat of God," that they had no share, "either of act, counsel, or knowledge, in the murder of Bridge; that they never heard an oath of "allegiance to any foreign Prince proposed or administered among them; that they never heard, "that any scheme of rebellion, high treason, or massacre was intended, offered, or even thought of, "by any of them; that they never knew of any "commissions, or French or Spanish officers, being "sent; or of any money being paid to these rioters: After which they severally declared, in the "same solemn manner, that the Rev. Mr. J——n "H——n, the Rev. Mr. L—— B——k, E——d "B——l, Esq; Mr. M——w B——y, Sir R——d "B——'s son, and others from the grand jury, had "tampered with them at different times, pressing "them to make, what they called, useful discoveries, "by giving in examinations against numbers of roman catholics of fortune, (some of whom they "particularly named) as concerned in a rebellion, "and massacre, which were never once thought of: "But, above all, that they urg'd them to swear, that "the priest, Nicholas Sheehy, *died with a lie in his* "mouth; *without which they told them, no other discoveries*

† See Append.

“ *coveries would avail them.* Upon these conditions, “ they promised, and undertook, to procure their “ pardons; acquainting them, at the same time, that “ they should certainly be hanged, if they did not “ comply with them,” And thus, my Lord, did these men bravely prefer even that death to such a life of guilt, remorse, and shame, as their tempters, and the wretches seduced by them, are cursed with in this world; and, (if they repent not in time) will be d—d for in the next.

To disbelieve, or misdoubt, the solemn testimonies of men, just on the point of yielding up thier lives as so many sacrifices to truth and innocence, is, indeed, a kind of scepticism, as absurd, as it is ungenerous; but to pretend, (as some I hear do) that these men had, or could have had, a dispensation or licence from their clergy, to publish falsehoods at the hour of their death, is such a barefaced imposition, and so wretched a resource, that it seems to me to amount to an indirect confession of their innocence; as it plainly shews to what ridiculous shifts their accusers are driven, to find out some colour of a proof of the reality of their guilt.

Our religion, my Lord, derives no benefit, or honour, from the imposing of opinions on Papists, which are manifestly inconsistent with their avowed, and most essential, tenets. Many instances might be produced, wherein these people have both fairly detected, and justly exposed, the authors of such ill-judged impositions; and shall we still continue to cram down their throats creeds and principles, which they nauseate to such a degree, as sometimes to reject them in our faces, to our confusion and disgrace?—No man, who believes God to be the supreme author, lover, and rewarder of truth, (I will not say does, but) *can* think it lawful for him to affirm seriously, and solemnly, a known falsehood at any time, or upon any account whatever. There is something in conscious untruth so repugnant to our nature and reason, that



it is impossible to avow, and profess it *for its own sake*, or without a view to some apparent good, either of profit or pleasure, arising from it; for which reason, such profession, when made with a prospect of living some time after it, is ever attended with a latent hope of finding an opportunity for atonement and repentance. But such hope is intirely out of the question, with respect to the professions of men, who most assuredly know, that they are within a very few moments of dying; and who, therefore, cannot possibly be influenced by those motives of worldly profit, or pleasure, which alone can render any professions liable to just suspicion. To say that these men were made to expect their reward in the next life, is to say that they were made to believe, with all their senses about them, and in their last moments, a blasphemous absurdity and contradiction, *viz.* That the supreme author, lover, and rewarder of truth, is also an encourager, abettor, and rewarder of falshood.

A very small acquaintance with the ways and dispositions of men, who firmly and conscientiously believe, that they must hereafter render a strict account of all their thoughts, words, and actions, (a belief, my Lord, wherein christians of all sects and denominations are, I think, agreed) is sufficient to convince us, that, whatever a man's religion, or party, may be; or how strongly soever he may be attached to it in his life-time, sincerity will still prevail, at the last hour; over all other considerations. Thus we see, the Papists that were hanged for the Powder-plot, (in which case, surely, if in any, a dispensation to prevaricate, for the credit of their religion was necessary, and, if possible, would have been obtained) being fully sensible of the atrociousness of their crime, not only \* publicly confessed, but also bitterly lamented it, at the place of execution; most fervently imploring God's mercy, and forgiveness for the same; while,

\* See Bishop of Lincoln's History of the Powder-plot, &c.



on the other hand, the suffering regicides \*, who believed they had done a meritorious act in murdering their king, and subverting the constitution, not only avowed, and vindicated, their horrid parricide, at the hour of their death, but also gloried in it; some of them declaring, with their last breath, " That if it were to be done again, they would do it;" a declaration, my Lord, which even the known policy and craft of these people were not able to suppress at that juncture, though they could not but foresee, that it would leave an undeniable stain on their memories and principles; and be of infinite prejudice to all those of their persuasion who were to succeed them, as long as monarchy subsisted in these kingdoms.

I mean not to insinuate, by this comparison, that the numerous body of sectaries now existing among us inherit, universally, this dangerous spirit of their predecessors. I know that some, even of these predecessors, did, at length, see the precipice into which they were falling, when they were just arrived at its brink; and therefore did vehemently preach, write, and protest against the murder of their king, at the very time that their chiefs had it under consideration and debate: But, as this fit of loyalty in them came too late to prevent that dreadful catastrophe, to which their own former behaviour had directly, though, perhaps, insensibly, led the way: So, my Lord, if we may judge of the natural tendency of the principles of the present race of sectaries, by what falls from them, over their cups, when their hearts are most open, and their tongues unrestrained, their being so apt, on such occasions, to celebrate the praises, and toast the memory, of that arch-rebel, and regicide, *Cromwel*, would incline one to suspect, that they had not yet entirely renounced that antimonarchial spirit of their predecessors, whatever they may have occasionally sworn, or professed

\* See the trial and last speeches of the regicides,

to the contrary. — Of this stamp, however, for the most part, were the men, that first gave the name of rebellion to these disturbances in Munster; and have been, ever since, the chief, instigating causes, of the shedding of so much innocent blood there, on that false, and ridiculous, pretence; at the same time that they were thoroughly sensible, that both the name and punishment of rebellion were more justly applicable to the wanton, and dangerous insurrection of their own brethren in Ulster in 1763; when, upon infinitely less provocation than the Munster-rioters had, upwards of thirty thousand of not the meanest of them rose up in arms, attacked his majesty's forces\*; and not only obstructed the course of justice themselves, but compelled even the magistrates to take unlawful oaths to obstruct it; affronting every where, and, in some places, cruelly, and ignominiously, mal-treating, the ministers of the established church, of all ranks and stations†, threatening to force the solemn league and covenant upon them, and to establish the kirk of Scotland in all his majesty's dominions; yet, of some hundreds of these northern insurgents, taken in actual hostility against the government, one only was capi-

\* The proclamation issued by the Lords Justices of Ireland on this occasion sets forth, among other things, "That these insurgents obstructed, and prevented the execution of the laws; and  
"intimidated his majesty's subjects from recovering their legal  
"rights: and that, the more effectually to answer *their said*  
"traiterous purposes, they had, by threats and violence, compelled  
"several of the magistrates, and others of his majesty's subjects,  
"to take unlawful oaths, that they would aid and assist them in such  
"their traiterous designs, to the great terror of his majesty's sub-  
"jects, the breach of his majesty's peace, and the obstruction of  
"justice. See Dublin Gazetteer for 1763.

† In a letter to Mr. — of London-derry, these insurgents stile themselves, "Reformers of abuses in church and state;—desire  
"him to turn out of that city, (where they flew for refuge) those  
"high flying clergy, who call themselves high churchmen,—  
"who would overset *their most undefiled church of Scotland*;"—bid  
"him 'mind the solemn league and covenant,'" and mention  
"the brave actions of Oliver Cromwel, *their first deliverer*." See  
Exshaw's Magazine for 1763.

tally

ally convicted ; and even that one was soon after pardoned, at the request, OR RATHER BY THE THREATS, of his powerful partizans. So that, my Lord, one might be tempted to think, by comparing these facts, that innocent papists were hanged in Munster, because they were papists, and criminal dissenters acquitted, or pardoned, in Ulster, because they were dissenters. But never, sure, was partiality more impolitic, ridiculous, or unjust !

Such, in brief, was the late proceedings against the rioters in Munster ; the present effects of which are a general panic spread not only through that province, but also through most other parts of this kingdom, which hitherto had enjoyed uninterrupted tranquillity, for more than seventy years past. The affected fears of a few leading, designing, and but nominal, protestants have produced *real* terrors in all the sincere, and well-meaning professors of the established religion. And as for the papists, so many of them are already hanged, in goal, or on the informer's lists, that the greatest part of the rest have fled through fear ; so that the land lies untilled for want of hands ; and a famine will probably ensue. Such papists as have any thing to lose, know not which way to turn themselves : If they leave the country, their absence will be construed into a proof of their guilt : if they remain in it, they are in imminent danger of having their lives sworn away by informers and approvers ; for the suborning and corrupting of witnesses on this occasion is, my Lord, beyond conception, frequent and barefaced. The very stews have been raked, and the goals rummaged in search of evidence ; and the most notoriously profligate in both have been selected, and tampered with, to give information of the private transactions and designs of reputable men, with whom they never had the least dealing, intercourse, or acquaintance ; nay, to whose very persons they were found to be strangers, when confronted at their trial. — But it is high time to put an end to this letter ;  
and

and, therefore, my Lord, to the trouble I have already given you I shall only add this request, that you will be pleased to communicate its contents to such of your noble friends there, as have both the power and inclination to cause a speedy, and effectual stop to be put to those crying acts of injustice and cruelty, that are daily committed here; for, I am sorry to acquaint your Lordship, that there is not the least likelihood of any steps being taken, on this side of the water, towards so humane, and christian a design.

I am,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's

Most obedient,

And most humble servant,

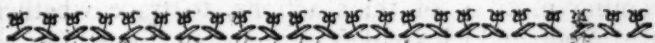
May 23,  
1766.

L. T.





## A P P E N D I X.



*An enquiry into the causes of the outrages, committed by the Levellers, or White-Boys, in the province of Munster; by M. S. Esq. Taken from the Dublin Magazine, for April 1763.*

*Clamitant --denis in annum solidis animam et corpus aestimari, hinc vestiem, victum, tuguria, hinc sevitiam dominorum et vacationes munerum restimi. At hercule verbera, et vulnera, duram hiemem, exercitias aestates, famem atrocem, et sterilem laborem sempiterna.--Blæsus respondet.--Non per seditionem et turbas desideria vulgi ad Cæsarem ferenda,*

Tac. Ann. L. i.

**A**FTER an uninterrupted tranquillity of seventy years, during which time this kingdom hath felt no assault from a foreign power, nor been shaken by domestic insurrections, it is much to its dishonour, that the appearance of rebellion should be chargeable on any of its inhabitants: yet the misdeeds of a few miscreants have laid us open to such a charge, many counties have suffered by their outrages, and the whole kingdom hath felt an alarm. Notwithstanding the consultations of government, the authority of the civil, and the interference of the military, power, joined to the punishments inflicted by our laws, these people (under the name of Levellers or White-Boys) have broke out again, to the destruction of peace and security in the counties they inhabit.

Why they have risen, or why the means to suppress them, have proved ineffectual, no one has attempted to lay



lay clearly before the public. It is hoped then, that the following enquiry, wherein we are all concerned, will not be unacceptable at this time. If the writer should seem to extenuate the transgressions of this lawless crew, he begs the public may not mistake him for their defender; for, to defend them he thinks unlawful and wicked, to exculpate them impossible, to utterly pardon them unsafe; but to enquire into the seeming motives of their actions, to trace whether wantonness and wickedness in them, or something as bad in their superiors, may not have been the joint causes of their outrages, he thinks an act of justice, and the most feasible method of redressing the present evil.

When the first alarm of these people spread through the kingdom, the mischiefs they committed were few, and their numbers not great. The sufferers murmured, but did not exert themselves. The magistrates were too indolent, or too timid, to suppress them. Thus the offenders increased their crimes and their numbers. Their first acts of violence were throwing down walls and ditches; thence they called themselves Levellers. But when they felt their own strength, and saw themselves a multitude; when they found no methods taken to restrain them; they concluded government itself afraid; they changed their proceedings, they put on a ridiculous uniform, and took the new name of White-Boys, tore up the grounds of some, maimed the cattle of others, menaced many, terrified all, and at length forced themselves into the notice of the legislature.

These proceedings were undoubtedly formidable at that crisis, engaged as we were in a tedious, bloody, and expensive war, against an enemy, who every year threatened to invade us. Men knew not what to think, and it is no wonder if many, of more loyalty than penetration, should suspect a rebellion. Many did, indeed, suspect it; and some were so led away by the belief of it, as to aver it in the grand council  
of

of the nation. Nay, at this very time there are not wanting many who give a full credit to it. If it was a rebellion, there never was any thing more ridiculously attempted, or could have been more easily suppressed; if it is one at present, never was any matter more untimely undertaken, or more likely to be ineffectual. But it is the interest of some people to give it that colour, lest we should find the origin of our disturbances in their own misconduct; and the overheated zeal of others is ready to join in any cry against papists. The writer of this Enquiry thinks both wrong, and hopes the nation will be satisfied, lest, by mistaking the cause of our disorders, we may never be able to cure them. The persons, and the time in which they appeared, have been the strongest arguments urged for calling this riot a rebellion. The persons were papists, and the violence broke out in a time of war. As papists, we know them hurried on by a blind religious zeal, and believe them, in general, as different from protestants in political as religious sentiments. We are not quite mistaken in this judgment of them; but we are often widely so in the consequence we attempt to draw from it, 'That they are ever ripe for rebellion, and, if any opportunity offered, would massacre us in our beds.' These charges are specious, but are not humane, nor are they warranted by experience; nay, if they were true of some, cannot be so of all papists. There is often a species of fanaticism in politics, as well as in religion, and both are apt to precipitate us into very rash opinions. Such enthusiastic admirers of the glorious revolution, as have no other method of expressing their loyalty but by bumpers, of their religion but by railing at popery, may assert that no papist can be a peaceable subject; but all dispassionate men, on mature reflection, will confess, that one man may differ from another in religious, yet agree in political sentiments; and *vice versa*. The hugonots in France are a living instance of the first, and many  
of

of the clergy and laity at the time of the revolution, and in the reign of queen Anne, of the second.

To assert, because any people have once rebelled, that they will for ever rebel, or are always ripe for rebellion, is not just argument. There is no nation on earth but has been guilty of this crime at one period or another; are we therefore to conclude, that all nations will for ever rebel? But, it may be said, the papists of Ireland, merely as papists, have rebelled oftener than other people; and from thence we may conclude their perpetual proneness to that horrid crime. If we candidly weigh this fact through the several periods of our history, we will find it otherwise. Before the reign of queen Elizabeth, when both kingdoms were of one religion, whatever disturbances happened in Ireland were such as have been in most other kingdoms, in England, in France, and in Scotland often. The rebellion which broke out in 1590, and which was fully suppressed by king James the first, arose from the oppressions of their governors no less than from religious principles, and was fomented by Philip of Spain. It is well known, that feuds on religious matters were frequent in England through all that century.

The horrid massacre and rebellion of 1641 was purely popish; but was doubtless encouraged by the troubled state of England at that period. Scotland had set them the example of successful rebellion, and the threats of the covenanters, with the promises of cardinal Richelieu, all conspired to foment the black business.

The troubles in 1683 cannot be called a rebellion with any propriety, neither was it judged as such, nor punished as such, by our glorious deliverer king William III. Since that time, Ireland is quite free from any charge of that kind, and probably will be so, from the impossibility of the like occasions happening; for there must be a number of concurring circumstances

stances to afford cause for any set of people to risk their all, in wicked pursuits and a fruitless prospect.

Two seeming occasions have offered, in 1715 and 1745, if the papists were able and willing to oppose the government. In 1590 and 1641, the papists were very numerous, possessed of large properties, and sharers in the government; in 1688 they had the pretext of aiding their popish king; but in 1715 their powers were broken, their numbers decreased, their properties considerably lessened, and all places of trust in the hands of the protestants, already grown vastly numerous. As they did not then rise, much less could they attempt it in 1745, when their numbers and possessions were much more diminished, and the hands of protestants so much more strengthened. Who then can suspect they would attempt in 1762, what they dared not to do in 1715 and 1745, when every circumstance was more favourably inviting? Allow them never so wrong in religious matters, they must be divested of all human prudence to have made such an attempt in 1762. But the tumult this year sets the matter in a yet clearer light; for, though they might have expected a foreign aid in 1762, no one is so absurd as to conclude they expect it now when peace is concluded through all Europe. That many, nay most, papists may with a revolution is very possible, but there is great difference between what men would wish done, and what they would attempt to do. Many would partake of the emoluments attending a change, that from fear, nay from probity and humanity, would not become the instruments of effecting it.

But if disaffection was not the cause, what else could raise a tumult to the likeness of a rebellion? There is one cause which is a scandal to many, a cause which might put weapons into the hands of cowards, and make even the loyal rebellious. Is it *poverty the result of oppression*. Not the oppression of kings or governors, not the oppression of taxes, but the oppression  
of

of landholders, merciless landholders, who seek but one likeness of our first parent, to be lords of a country with no inhabitants but beasts.

It has scarce ever happend that a mob rose without cause; but no mob ever knew where to stop. The present rioters have repeatedly declared the cause of their outrages. In all their letters, whether menacing or expostulatory, they demand a redress of grievances, and urge those grievances as the cause of their disturbances. Like other mobs they have carried their complaints to a violent excess, and have injured the innocent as well as the oppressors. The landholders who complain of their violence may justly ask, " who made them carvers for themselves? shall they pretend to command those they should obey? shall they destroy my property if I will not give it to them on their own conditions? ". All sensible men will answer. no---But, as they ask, will they also answer, a few reasonable questions? Are the poor of Munster oppressed? Can they live on the small wages they have from the landholders with the high rents they pay to them? Are a number of wretches to be starved to make one greater wretch opulent and luxurious? Is it no oppression to lay waste the whole side of a country, and send the inhabitants a begging?

—These are facts so notorious, that many landholders in Munster must have impudence equal to their tyranny, if they attempt to deny them. It is such conduct that has given cause to some, and a pretence to others, for disturbing the peace of society; and it is the consciousness of this conduct, that made many so remiss in detecting the disturbers of the public peace.

These rioters seem to assign three causes for their nocturnal mischiefs, viz. the enclosing commons, the extravagant rent for potatoe ground, and the exorbitance of tythe-mongers. Each of which we shall beg leave to examine.

The



The country people of Ireland are, in general, under a great mistake about their rights of commonage; many look upon them as royal grants for the benefit of the poor, others think them appendages to the neighbouring estates (as they are) but from long prescription conclude them unalienable from the occupiers of the adjacent lands. At the time of the Down survey, all arable and real pasture lands were subject to taxes; and where there were large tracts of unreclaimed grounds, they were estimated in quantity for quality, and left frequently in common between the neighbouring estates. The proprietors of those estates, though they yielded a right of grazing upon the commons to all their tenants on the borders, undoubtedly had a right to enclose and occupy those grounds at any time, as well as any other part of their lands. So that the outcry of the levelers against the enclosing of commons is an open outrage on the properties of their landlords. Yet there are some cases wherein they have a just foundation for their outcry. Some landlords in Munster have set their lands to cottiers far above their value, and, to lighten the burthen, allowed commonage to their tenants as a kind of recompence. Afterwards, in despite of all equity, contrary to all compacts, the landlords have enclosed those commons, and precluded the unhappy tenants from the only means of making their bargains tolerable. The law, indeed is open to redress them; but they do not know the laws, or how to proceed; and, if they did know them, they are not equal to the expence of a suit against a rich tyrant; for it is as melancholy as true, that in Munster the barbarous policy is adopted of keeping their tenants poor to secure their slavish obedience. Besides, the greatest part of these tenures are by verbal agreement, not by written compact: here is another difficulty, if the wretches should apply to law. What can they do in this case, starved if they submit, unequal to a lawsuit, or forced to fly as beggars to other

other counties? They were too ignorant of the principles of equity to seek a reasonable redress, they had too deep a sense of their sufferings to feel the less pungent call of virtue; nay, they thought equity of their side, and iniquity on the part of their landlords; and thence flew with eagerness to, what is ever the resource of low and uncultivated minds, *violence*. They thought by annoying their tyrants to get a remission of tyranny. Many, perhaps, will disbelieve any such instance of oppression as I have mentioned to exist in our country; but it does exist; and was the writer of this disposed to be particular in a cause that is general, or to quit public spirit for private injuries, he could point out some of the earliest complaints on the opening of this riot, as the primary authors of the whole disturbance.

Let there be added here another incontestible crying evil, which not only affects the poor individuals in the counties where it is perpetrated, but which injures the whole community, frustrates the good intentions of government, opposes positive laws, and threatens desolation to almost an whole province. Many persons have taken a vast extent of land which they occupy themselves, the old inhabitants are cast out, their cottages levelled, their gardens turned to pasture; and, instead of populous villages, you may now travel through a waste of country, without seeing the human face divine. "Begone ye old tillers, says the greedy monopolizer, this soil is too rich for men," and so he leaves no man upon it but his wretched herdsmen. What then shall these exiles do? work they cannot, for there is no work for them; to beg, they are ashamed. Shall they starve? no, they may remove to distant countries. But in what condition are they to remove? a single person might, perhaps, change the place of his abode with small inconveniency; but here are whole families, breeding wives, and infant children, without wealth, without property, depending on their daily labour for their daily

daily bread. How shall they convey their little household stuff, if they have any? half their little stock must be sold to enable them to remove the other half, and then what recommendation do they bring with them to a strange country? their very removal carries a suspicion of misconduct in their native place; grant that suspicion conquered, who will entrust them with land? they have no property, have the appearance of vagrants ready to change their place every month; and thus their being dispossessed of one habitation, becomes a strong reason for denying them another.

Here is an evil more severe, and much more extensive than the instance given about commons; in that instance, they might have land, but at an exorbitant rate; here they are excluded from having land at any rate.

The love of our country is allowed a natural and noble principle, though the lower class of men are not capable of it in a more enlarged degree; yet they have certain local affections, which are as dear to them, and give them as high sensations, as the most patriot breast ever felt; and all these sensations rise to heighten their distress. Burthened with oppression, environed with want, forced to fly from the scene of his nativity and youthful pleasures, to quit the small spot he had expended his labours upon, what man of the dullest feelings would not acknowledge to be the height of accumulated misery? If such an effect was produced by a foreign power we would all recognize a propriety in our feelings. But where is the difference to the sufferer, whether his misfortunes are caused by a foreign or domestic foe, by an insolent enemy, or an oppressive landlord? In one case, we call it glorious to resist, talk of love to our country, our altars, and hearths; but, in the other, we must submit and starve, for even the laws afford us no redress. The landlord will dispose of his own as he likes best. But with all due respect to those land-

D

lords

lords and landholders, do they think the whole country made for them alone, and that providence has no regard to the cries of the poor? Admit them to oppress their vassals with impunity, why should they hurt the community at large, which they do most manifestly? If the number of industrious poor make the wealth of a nation, the number of monopolizing graziers must bring it to poverty! If we cast our eyes on the state of Munster for these twenty years past, we will see the ill effects of this spirit of exorbitant land-taking.

In the year 1744, the number of houses in Munster was 118,089, in 1748 they were reduced to 102,198, and in the year 1760 they amounted to but 114,704, of which number upwards of two thousand were an increase in the three cities of Cork, Limerick and Waterford. The country of Cork had two thousand houses less than it had in the year 1744, the county of Waterford above one thousand, notwithstanding the increase of their cities. Are these marks of a thriving country, untouched by sickness or famine, upwards of twenty years? We know likewise that there were near two thousand manufactures, from the north, planted in different parts of Munster during that period, that there have been numberless acres of land reclaimed, which might afford sustenance to a greater number of families than the decrease in these twenty years.

The only shadow of apology for this decrease of inhabitants is a long war; but if this plea was just, it must affect the whole kingdom, Ulster particularly, and yet they have not found this inconvenience. Ulster, notwithstanding its constant drains to supply our armies abroad, and our linen manufactures in several parts of the kingdom, has increased upwards of 17,000 houses since 1748; and Leinster about 12,000 in the same period. Even Connaught, though abounding in sheep-walks, has increased 8,000. Munster alone is depopulated, and instead of an addition of 10,000 houses,

houses, its due proportion with the other provinces, it is 4,000 short, that is a difference of 10,000 inhabitants lost. Look upon this, you *Nimrods* of Munster, who make men your chase, and beasts your companions! While you are establishing yourselves, you are undoing your country, and frustrating the wise endeavours of our governors. Though the laws command, you will not till, nor suffer tillers to remain among you, Nay, these landholders, for I would distinguish them from their landlords (though many of both are the best and most sensible ornaments of the kingdom) these landholders, I say, stop the growth of protestantism amongst us; they keep their tenants poor to keep them slaves, they bow down their minds with their bodies, they suffer no light to one, nor comfort to the other, it is their interest to keep them papists, and the creatures themselves have no understanding nor worldly interest to become protestants. Every sensible man knows that popery is a religion that countenances slavery as protestantism does freedom. It would be the ruin then of these tyrants to encourage a reformation, or suffer any degree of property among their vassals; so that, whilst they are complaining of the losses sustained by the outrage of the present rioters, they are bringing a more vital loss on the community, by banishing its members, and discouraging protestants.

To have a more perfect view of these persons' proceedings, let us consider the second and most common complaint of the rioters, the price of land for potatoes.

It is not uncommon in Munster to charge from four to five guineas per acre for potatoe ground; but we shall suppose the price but four guineas, that is 91 shillings. The daily wages for labourers is four pence per day; there are 365 days in the year, of which there are 52 sundays, and suppose but 13 holidays, the remainder is 300 working days, the wages for which are 100 shillings, that is nine shillings above the price of their land, of which five shillings are paid for tythe, and two for hearth-money, and the remaining two go towards



the rent of their cabbin. What is left ? Nothing—and out of this nothing they are to buy seed for their garden, salt for their potatoes, rags for their wives and children, a little firing to prevent the crudities of their food, a few rushes to give a gleam of light to their wretchedness ; they must likewise purchase labourers to till their garden, pay a shilling per ann. to the priest, and reserve a few pence to regale them at the patron. It must be observed, that in this calculation I have mentioned 300 working days, though it is known from the greater number of holidays observed in that part of the kingdom than any other, from the number of wet and broken days, joined to the natural laziness of the people, there are not above 200 days for which they are paid. What an aggravation does this make in the account ? and will the best crop of potatoes enable them to maintain a family often of six or eight persons, under the difficulties we have mentioned.

It is this exorbitant rent which produces the third cause of complaint of tythes. Ready money they have not ; for where can they get it ? The reward of their labour goes in payment of their rent ; they can seldom amass the mighty sum of two shillings to pay their hearth-money ; the collector must distrain in general before they can compass it by loan or intreaty. How then shall they collect five shillings for tythe ? Tythes they would not love were they able to pay them, but they hate them doubly from their poverty. The clergymen in that country possess livings of vast extent and little emolument ; there are some livings which have 1000 acres under black cattle ; here the incumbent gets nothing, and the cottiers gardens become his principal support ; and a gentleman of birth, perhaps piety and learning, is brought to the disagreeable necessity of chaffering with a set of poor wretches for two pence or six pence in a bargain, or forego the support of his own family. This business grows irksome to him, and he seeks some one person who will take the trouble upon him. The distress of the parishioner is heightened by

by this agreement ; and the tythe-monger, who is generally more rapacious than humane, squeezes out the very vitals of the people ; and by process, citation, and sequestration, drags from them the little which the landlord and king had left them.

These are the real and apparent causes of the levelers conduct ; in all their circular letters they have desired a redress of these grievances, and in the small compass of my reading I find no nation, that has not had tumults from such or like causes without religion coming into the question. But these creatures are papists ; no wonder, for all the poor of that country are such. There are priests among them. Men whose business is peace should be punished for promoting disturbances undoubtedly : But they also are among the sufferers ; very many of those priests who had villages with an hundred or two of cottages upon them, which paid them six-pence or a shilling a year each, are now deserted, and their poor stipends dwindled to nothing. I do not mean this as an excuse for them, who ought to heal and not sow dissensions ; but merely to shew there are other causes than religion for these tumults. The same was my intention with regard to the *levellers*. No man is innocent who disturbs the peace of society ; and no man should do it with impunity ; but there is a gradation in guilt, and justice will not call the man, who rashly snatches a weapon to defend himself or punish an aggressor, equally criminal with him, who shews a deliberate settled purpose of murder or rebellion. That these riots have not been yet quelled is due to the timidity of the civil magistrates, joined to a continuation of the oppression, as we might clearly shew, did we not hasten to conclude an enquiry already too long. Only be it observed at present, that the lenity of government, which many have dared to blame, arose partly from their knowledge of the real situation of that country : and that, whether mildness or severity is adopted in the prosecution of these lawless fellows, it will only spread a film over the sore, but not cure it ;

Pardoning them is but restoring them to the hands of their tyrants; hanging is an alternative for starving; transporting them, indeed, though it robs the community of able hands, may be desirable to themselves, as they may become happier in a foreign country, but scarce can be more wretched than they are in their own.

Some among them, indeed, deserve the utmost punishment of the laws, I mean such, as, without any provocation from the causes before assigned, have joined these wretches, and made use of their hands to wreak their private malice on their neighbours. Many such there are, which, it is hoped, the laws will overtake.

If this address is approved, or supposed to touch the matter justly, the author, perhaps, will add such thoughts as may help to a complete redress of the present disturbances. What has been here said is purely for public good, dictated by a protestant heart, and written by one who is far removed from the present scene of tumult, but not from the feelings which ought to actuate every member of society.



*Notes taken on the Trial of Edward Meighan, for the Murder of John Bridge, on the Night of the 28th of October 1764, by a Gentleman of the Jury; consisting of Answers made to the several Questions put to the Witnesses.*

From EXSHAW'S MAGAZINE, for  
JUNE, 1760.

JOHN TOOHY, SWORN FOR THE CROWN.

**K**NOWS the Prisoner,—knew John Bridge—he is dead, was killed by Edward Meighan—by a stroke of a bill-hook on the head at Shanbally, and died instantly—went to English's house at Shanbally, with Pierce Byrn, James Buxton, James Farrell, Silvester How, Darby Tierney; knew not for what purpose,—saw John Walth, Dennis Coleman, Peter Magrath and John Bridge, playing cards at English's house,—went a small way out of the house, on James Farrell's call, into a field,—saw many people in the field; to wit, Edward Meighan the prisoner, Nicholas Sheehy, Edward Prendergast, Thomas Beere, John Burke, Edward Burke, Thomas Magrath, Hugh Hayes, Roger Sheehy, Dennis Coleman, William Flyn, Edmund Sheehy, Edward Coffee, James Coghlan, John Walth, Philip Magrath, Thomas Harman, John Butler, and many others drawn up in a rank, as if to be reckoned.—John Bridge and company went towards the people, and join'd them.—Nicholas Sheehy tendered an oath to John Bridge to deny examinations; who refused to take it: On this refusal Pierce Byrn struck at him with a flane, which he defended with his left-hand; then the prisoner drew a bill-hook from under a belt, and struck Bridge on the head, which to his recollection, clove the skull,—Bridge fell down dead instantly,

The same Persons in about half an hour, got a blanket, and carried the corpse, to a field belonging to Connor's son, or Ross, at Ballyhuskin, and buried him in a ploughed field, about two miles from the place of committing the murder.

An oath was then tendered by Nicholas Sheehy, to all present, not to disclose what had passed that night, and to be true to the king of France, and Joan Meskill and Children, which most, or all of them did.—The prisoner took the oath,—all approved of what happened,—that as John Bridge was out of the way, Michael Guinan's testimony could not take effect.—The field is called the Barn-field,—knows not what was done with the body since,—heard the prisoner say that the corpse was taken up and removed,—knows of a letter brought to James Buxton by John Doherty, which was wrote by Nicholas Sheehy.

At the time of burying the corpse in the field, a little boy was found hiding in the ditch, and put up behind Nicholas Sheehy. The boy's name John Londergan,---believes he could not see him killed, or where he was buried, but could see the people carrying the body.

#### CROSS EXAMINED.

Came from Killcrow,—has been in goal for about four months;—was sent to goal the 20th of September—first gave examinations against the prisoner, about a month after committal,—was committed for horse-stealing,—believes the 28th of October 1764, was Tuesday, but cannot recollect,—knew not of any rewards to be given by government,—remembers Clogheen fair in October 1764, but not the day,—Bridge was killed about ten or eleven at night,—knows not whether before or after the fair of Clogheen,—lived for a week before the murder with James Buxton, and returned to the same place,—lived with James Buxton for three years before and after.—Was employed to carry messages and letters to and

from



from the White boys,—knows not whether the house belong'd to English; but it was named for his,—never was there after the murder,—believes there were above an hundred present when the murder was committed,—says the several people already named were present,—says there is a dwelling-house in the field where Bridge was buried,—in his evidence in Dublin, he said the house was within a musket-shot of the place of burial,—knew the prisoners by seeing them at several meetings of the White boys, gave in examinations against the White boys in about a month after committal, and after the murder, a short time before he went to Dublin.

JOHN LONDERGAN, SWORN FOR THE CROWN.

Knows the prisoner,—saw him in October 1764, between Mr. Callaghan's and father Sheehy's;—saw several in company with the prisoner; to wit, Thomas Magrath, John Butler, Nicholas Sheehy, and many others, in the high-road to Shanbally; that when he first saw them, he slipped into a trench, being afraid of his life,—was discovered in the trench by Thomas Magrath, and taken out, and asked his business,—they then put him behind Nicholas Sheehy,—he saw them carry a corpse rolled up in a caddow,—saw the head bloody on the side of the horse next to him,—was not carried far before he was put from behind Sheehy,—knew John Bridge, but did not know whether he was the corpse.

They desired this evidence to go home another short road, and Nicholas Sheehy gave him three half crowns, and desired him not to talk of what he saw, or to betray his uncle, Michael Guinan,—is not very certain of the time of the murder of Bridge; but heard he was murdered,—believes it was about the first of November was two years.

He was sent by his uncle Michael Guinan, to John Bridge for a Pistole or Guinea,—does not recollect when, but it was on the same night that he saw the corpse, but did not go all the way, on account of  
hearing

hearing the crowd, some on foot, and some on horse<sup>d</sup> back.

Heard that Bridge was killed on the same night, very soon after.

When he was taken from behind Nicholas Sheehy, the prisoner shewed him a short cut to the town of Clogheen, and desired him not to follow the corpse, but to go home the short way,—believes there were a hundred there,—there were also present Buck Farrell, and James Farrell.

#### CROSS EXAMINED.

Saw the corpse after midnight. It was neither very dark, nor very light;—the days were not long, but rather short,—believes it was Sunday night, because he saw people going to mass,—knows not how long it was before Christmas,—it was three weeks before Christmas,—people go to mass on holydays as well as Sundays, therefore it might be an holyday,—he did not know the length of a week.

#### MARY BRADY, SWORN FOR THE CROWN,

She lived with her mother in Clogheen, in October, 1764, Michael Kearney was in her house in October, 1764, and was called upon by Nicholas Sheehy,—she was present. Nicholas Sheehy said Kearney was to go with him that night,—she followed them to Shanbally,—saw a man, wrapped in a blanket, dead. She then, and there saw Nicholas Sheehy; the prisoner, Edmond Sheehy, Thomas Magrath, and several others,—there were about an hundred. She first saw the body at Shanbally. They buried the body at Ballyhuskin, on the lands called the Barn,—was not present at the burial,—she saw a bill-hook in the prisoner's hand, the prisoner made an attempt to strike the corpse, when in the blanket, and said that ~~what~~ had been done was very right; and it was a pity, but to use all whores and rogues in like manner,—she observed the bill-hook bloody,—they left Shanbally shortly before she followed them.

She

She recollects no other words of the prisoner,---in about eight days, the corpse was taken up, and buried at Ballysheehan, near Shanbally.

Says she was sent by Nicholas Sheehy to the prisoner ; that he was to go on command ; and he said he would obey,--says she watched the party, and followed them from Clogheen to Ballyhuskin Barn,---was desired by Nicholas Sheehy and Edmond Sheehy, alias Buck Sheehy, to stay at the end of the road, and not to go farther, and by the prisoner. She saw them bring the corpse in the same way as before, from Ballyhuskin to Ballysheehan, it was carried by turns ; about an hundred present,---followed the corpse most of the road to Ballysheehan,---they said they would bury it in the church-yard there.

NICHOLAS SHEEHY tendered an oath, at the first and second burial, on the cross, to be true to each other, and never to discover,---the prisoner was sworn on the cross at both burials,---she heard the prisoner say it was John Bridge.

#### CROSS EXAMINED.

She remembers it was in October,---knows not when the fair of Clogheen is held,---says it was four Days before Lieut. Chaloner went to Clogheen, she went after Michael Kearney, by whom she had a child, to Ballyhuskin,---Kearney had no certain residence, but was at her mother's house the night Sheehy called on him.

The men were gathered about nine o'clock,---says Michael Kearney was there present at the burial,---there were many other women there,---she was admitted, as Michael Kearney was such as they imagined.---Kearney swore her,---there were some Clogheen women there,---she saw none prevented,---Ballyhuskin how far from Shanbally, or Ballysheehan ? she knows not ; but above three miles,---all dressed as usual, neither light nor dark,--did not go the high-road.

GREGORY

**GREGORY FLANNERY, SWORN FOR THE PRISONERS.**

He knew Michael Kearney,---lived in Clogheen,---saw him April, 1763, in Dublin,---he went to borrow money from counsellor O'Callaghan; and if he could not get it, to quit the country,---he gave the witness 60 l. in cash, who got a bill for 58 l. 12 s. 4 d, and left two letters, saw him go aboard a ship bound for Bristol or Parkgate, saw the ship sail below the wall,---wrote to the witness about some things, in about two months after,---never heard of him since he left the kingdom, about the 22d or 23d of April, 1763.

**CROSS EXAMINED.**

He might have returned since without his knowledge,---he lived in Dublin ten years, but never resided in the county of Tipperary.

**THOMAS GORMAN, SWORN FOR THE PRISONERS.**

Knew Michael Kearney twenty years,—saw him in February or March, 1763—heard Michael Kearney went abroad, and received a letter from him, dated 7th of May, 1763, from London: received several other letters till September or October, 1763, when he said he was going to Jamaica,—often saw him when in the country, and believes if he had returned, he would have seen him.

**HENRY KEATING, SWORN.**

Knew Michael Kearney, in Jamaica, the beginning of March 1764,—saw him first there in December, 1763,—he was in very good health,—then did not think of returning,—witness returned in August, 1764,—left Jamaica in April, 1764,—made some stay in London,—has been in Clonmell since,—believes he would have seen Kearney if he returned,—It was Michael Kearney of Clogheen.

**CROSS EXAMINED.**

Knew the county of Tipperary 16 years,---heard there was another Michael Kearney.

DENNIS

## DENNIS MAGRATH, SWORN.

Lives at Clogheen since he was born,---knew Michael Kearney left Clogheen the 15th of April 1763,---he wa the same Michael Kearney that kept Mary Brady.

## CROSS EXAMINED.

Witness, a brother to Thomas Magrath, a prisoner,---says Michael Kearney set off for Dublin the 15th of April, 1763,---he received a letter in six or eight days from Dublin,---he received letters from London the May following,---he is sure Kearney did not return after he first went off.

## DANIEL KEEFE, SWORN FOR THE PRISONERS.

Lived in Clogheen fifteen years,—knew Michael Kearney,—saw him last, three years ago, next April,---knew him since 1752,—heard he was in Jamaica,---quitted on account of money due,---sure if he was in Clogheen he must have seen him, unless he kept his room,---he had a child by Mary Brady.

## ANN HULLAN, SWORN FOR THE PRISONER.

Remembers the fair of Clogheen, 1764,---knows Mary Brady,---her daughter Mary Brady, lived with the witness in October, 1764,---the fair is in October,---she lived with her Mother,--she was at the fair,---lay at her own house the night before the fair,---lay for two nights before the fair with her two daughters, Mary Brady one of the daughters, Eleanor Dunlea the other,---lay in her own house, with her two daughters in one bed,---she and her daughter went to bed about eight or nine o'clock, two nights before the fair,---Mary Brady remained the whole night in bed, for the three nights,---could not be out of bed, without her knowing of it,---knows not whether Mary Brady be married,---she is not to be believed on her oath, three years next Easter, since Michael Kearney left Clogheen,---he was not at her house at any time in 1764,---no one in company with her daughter, but what she was present with.

ELEANOR



ELEANOR DUNLEA, SWORN FOR THE PRISONERS.

Knows Mary Brady,---the fair in Clogheen before All-holland-tide,---a fair there every year in October, ---lay the fair night in the bed with Mary Brady and her mother, and the night before, and the night before that, and the night after the fair,---went to bed about seven,---all went to bed together,---has known Michael Kearney---does not remember his ever spending an hour in her house,---it was usual with the family to go to bed early.

JOHN HENDERKIN, SWORN FOR THE PRISONERS.

Knows Edward Meighan the prisoner,---the fair of Clogheen the 28th of October, 1764, was on a Monday,---witness lives in Carrick,---came to Clogheen,---spent the night before the fair in the prisoner's house, to which he went as being his friend,---prisoner keeps a free house in Clogheen,---came to his house about five in the evening of the 28th,---prisoner was at home before him, and remained with him all the evening,---they went to bed about eight or nine o'clock,---the prisoner was in the house when the witness went to bed,---the prisoner did not go to bed all night, as the fair-day was to be next day, and he had work to finish for the fair,---he, and a journeyman, were at work in the same room where witness lay, who awoke several times, and still found them at work,---lay awake about half an hour, and spoke to Meighan about working,---did not go to sleep before ten: at which time Meighan, the prisoner, was in the room.

CROSS EXAMINED.

Meighan, the prisoner, is married to witness's sister---came from Carrick to Clogheen about five in the evening, where he found the prisoner, his wife, a journeyman and maid,---prisoner sitting in the kitchen with man and maid,---witness got cold meat in prisoner's house,---did not speak to the journeyman since he came to town,---an entry between the shop and kitchen,---worked usually in a bed-chamber, and  
not

not in the shop,---they began to work after night-fall  
 ---no other person lay in the room without,---the wit-  
 ness did not sleep before ten,---did not sleep an hour  
 together all night,---said the prisoner could not go out  
 unknown to him,---he slept an hour together,---does  
 not think it possible for the prisoner to go out un-  
 known to him,---the prisoner, and his journeyman,  
 were at work when he got up in the morning,---wit-  
 ness after the fair lay with the prisoner in the same  
 bed,---prisoner and he went to bed together that night  
 about ten,---Meighan and he lay positively together  
 all that night,—heard the prisoner was charged with  
 the murder of John Bridge, about a month ago,—  
 never applied to for his evidence by any one,—knows  
 not who told him of the murder,---did not hear when  
 the murder was committed,---came voluntarily to give  
 his evidence,---heard the morning of the fair that John  
 Bridge fled out of the country,---never heard that he  
 was murdered but by common fame,---had no conver-  
 sation with the prisoner since he came to town, or since  
 he was committed,---is a nailor by trade.

JOHN TOOHY, produced a second time by Counsellor  
 Hughes.

Knows the prisoner was present,---says there was  
 John Butler, and Thomas Magrath, both of Clogheen,  
 present.

EDMOND CALLAGHAN, FOR THE PRISONER.

Knows Shanbally,---knew it in October, 1764, and  
 lived there 17 years,---no one of the name of English  
 in Shanbally since he knew it.

CROSS EXAMINED.

Knows Glyn Callaghan,---some English live above  
 Glyn Callaghan, on a purchase made by Counsellor  
 Callaghan, and joins Shanbally,---where English lives  
 is about one eighth of a mile from Shanbally.

DANIEL KEEFE, produced a second time.

Knows John Butler, saw him in October 1764,---did  
 not see him the 28th or 29th of October, 1764.

GERALD

GERALD FITZGERALD, SWORN FOR THE PRISONER.

Knows John Butler, saw him in October, 1764,---in a fever at his own house, from the third to the end of the month,---cannot say he saw him the 28th,---saw him in November the 2d before he was able to go out.

RICHARD TRAVERS, SWORN.

Knew Thomas Magrath in October, 1764,---saw him the 28th at the witness's father's house,---and from about eight at night till four o'clock in the morning on Sunday,---was drinking all the time in the company, --knows not whether he went out,---did not stay out an hour at a time,---knows not where English lives,---Shanbally about four miles from Clogheen.

JOHN BRIEN, SWORN.

Lives at Shanbally, is a dancing-master,---knew John Bridge,---believes him alive, never saw him since the 24th of October, 1764, nor was he in the country since,---met him in a forge the 24th at Barncourt,---called for the sledge, and turned some shoes,---called witness aside, and desired that he would keep what he told him secret, for that he was going out of the Kingdom; and that if he returned, he would return his favour.

LAURENCE HANGLIN, SWORN.

Knew John Bridge,---saw him at Angleborough in the county of Limerick, 28th of October, 1764, about eleven miles from Clogheen,---was surprised at his knocking at his door three hours before day. - he said he was going to sea to avoid the light-horse:---Went with him through Mitchelstown;---parted from him beyond the town, and took leave of him beyond it,---he could read and write, but he never wrote to him, or to any one, that he could hear,---told him he would go to Corke or Kinsale, to look for a ship,---believes Mr. Beere is to be believed on his oath.

JOHN LANDREGAN, SWORN.

Worked all Saturday night; worked Sunday night, till five or six o'clock on Monday morning,---begun to work about six, Sunday evening,---did not go to bed,

bed, or to sleep, all night,---witness went to prepare a stand,---in witness's company all night with his wife, maid, and Henderkin, all there,---Henderkin went to bed in the work-room above stairs.

## CROSS EXAMINED.

Did not sleep from Saturday to Monday,---lay on Monday night at his father's house,---Henderkin went away on Tuesday,---saw Henderkin a fortnight ago,--did not see him this day or yesterday,---did not hear what he swore.

*A circumstantial Account of the Trial of Nicholas Sheehy, &c. for the Murder of John Bridge; taken from Exshaw's Magazine for March, 1766.*

THE accounts in the public papers relative to Sheehy's trial, condemnation, and execution are true; although they are not set forth in regular order, by what we can learn from several who attended the trial, which lasted about five hours. There were three witnesses only examined in behalf of the crown, Mary Dunlary, Thomas Toohy, and John Lonergan; the former had been often with the White-boys in their nightly excursions; the second, Toohy, was a messenger, or runner upon all occasions, for these people, and perfectly knew their motions and intentions: These two witnesses swore positively and peremptorily, that on the 28th of October, 1764, they were assembled in a large body, upon some lands, within a mile of the village of Clogheen, in the county of Tipperary, at night-time, when John Bridge, the unhappy deceased, was sent for at a public-house in Clogheen, where he had been playing cards; that, when he came to the place where the White-boys were assembled, they expostulated with him upon the subject of giving in, and swearing examinations or informations, against many of them; and urged him to retract

or contradict what he had already sworn ; but the deceased resolutely told them he would stick to what he had already given information of ; which answer irritated them so much, that one person, with a flane (an instrument used in cutting turf ) made a stroke at the deceased's head, which he warded off with his arm, whereupon Meehan, who was hanged with the priest, came behind the deceased, and, with a bill-hook, gave him but one stroke, and cleft his skull in such a manner that he dropped dead, or, as the witness say, did not bring life with him to the ground. The priest was not present, or did not see this transaction, but was in the company, and immediately came up and approved of what was done, by saying it was well done ; that every informer, and an informer who was an enemy to the French king, ought to be served so ; and ordered the body to be wrapped up in an old blanket, which was done, and thrown across a horse before one of the White-boys, when they all together (in number about 300) went to bury the corpse in an open field, within a mile where the fact was committed. John Loneragan, the third witness (a boy about nineteen years old) swore that he knew the deceased, and the prisoners, very well ; that on the night aforesaid, he had been sent by an uncle of his, one Guinan (who had likewise given information against the White-boys, and, as same says, has been since poisoned by them) to the house of one English, who lived upon the lands of Shanbally, belonging to Mr. Callaghan, for a pistol ; who, upon his return, heard a great number of people upon the road, and when he saw them, he threw himself into a ditch, not caring to be seen by them ; but it happened that one of the company (who is now a prisoner) spied him in the ditch, and ordered him out. The priest then enquired who he was ? and where he was going, or had been ? in which he satisfied him ; whereupon the priest got the boy mounted behind him, and carried him to the turn of another road at some distance, and bid him go home, and gave him three half crowns ;  
desiring



desiring him, at the same time, 'Not to tell any body of what he saw.' During the boy's riding behind the priest, he saw the corpse, with its head out of the cad-dow; and although the head was almost split in two, and all bloody, he knew it to be that of the deceased John Bridge.

No witnesses ever appeared more concurrent in their testimony; no prevarication, no contradiction, as fair a trial as ever criminals had. — Sheehy examined twelve witnesses, which proved very unfavourable to him, as they corroborated, and strengthened the testimony given in behalf of the crown. They endeavoured to prove an *alibi* \*, in which they failed; and, that no credit was to be given to the witnesses for the crown, one being a whore, and Toohey a rogue, and Lonergan only a little boy. The priest confessed that he had been guilty of crimes for which he deserved death, both at the time of his condemnation, and that of his sentence; but the crime for which he was to suffer, he declared himself innocent of: he said but little at the gallows. His, and Meehan's, head were spiked upon the goal of Clonmell, the 25th of last month, where they remain a shocking spectacle. The trial was on the 12th of March.—The reasonable, and thinking part of the papists in this country, are of opinion his sentence was most equitable, while the ignorant are taught to consider this transaction in the light of a persecution, which, from the indulgence of the government, and the toleration allowed, ought to be very distant from their thoughts.

\* To prove an alibi, is to prove a person's being in another place.

*A Narrative, collected from authentic Materials, of the Proceedings at Clonmell, in the County of Tipperary, on the Trials of Mr. Edmond Sheehy, Mr. James Buxton, and Mr. John Farrel, for the Murder of John Bridge, on the Night of the 28th of October, 1764, by virtue of a special Commission; which Trials began the 11th of April, and continued to the 15th, as every Prisoner was separately tried, though for the same Fact. Taken from Exshaw's Magazine for April 1766.*

THE court, in order to shew the highest impartiality, had juries impanelled, consisting of sixty each, for every prisoner that was then to be tried, and to the credit of the gentlemen of the county (who were all men of property) they appeared on the first call; of whom each of the prisoners challenged twenty peremptorily, but could not go further, not being able to shew cause of objection to any of the remainder.

Mr. Edmond Sheehy being put to the bar, and his indictment read, to which he pleaded not guilty; the lawyers for the crown proceeded to produce their evidence; and first called upon John Toohy, who being sworn, declared, that the prisoner at the bar was present, and within two or three yards of John Bridge, when he received the fatal blow from Edmond Meehan.

Mary Brady was next produced, who swore that she came up immediately after the murder of Bridge, and that the prisoner was present, together with the Rev. Mr. Sheehy and Edmond Meehan, and that the latter held in his hand a bill-hook all bloody, and that the priest, in her hearing, commended the action, and said, all traitors should be served in the same manner.

The third evidence that was called upon, was Mr. James Herbert, farmer; he in the course of his examination, declared, that on Sunday the 28th of October, 1764, he was called upon by Roger Sheehy, who was then on horse back, and behind whom he rode to a meeting of about twenty or thirty persons assembled, on the lands of Shanbally, near Clogheen, where they  
were

were sworn by their priest, father Sheehy, to murder John Bridge, John Bagwell, Esq; William Bagnel, Esq; the Rev. Doctor Hewitson, and every other person who should oppose them; *that they would be faithful to the French king, conquer Ireland, and make it their own.*

After being thus sworn, they came to the house of one English, on the lands of Shanbally, belonging to Mr. Calaghan, where Bridge was; they instantly called him out of the house, and took him to a field at some distance, where was another party of about one hundred and thirty; here they accused him of giving information, and lodging examinations against the White-boys, insisted that he should by oath contradict whatever he had given information of, which he refused to do; hereupon one Burn made a stroke at him with a turf-flane, which he kept off with his arm; then Edmond Meehan took a bill-hook from under his coat, with which he struck Bridge on the back part of his head, which so cleft his skull that he instantly expired; that the priest was then present, and so near as to be within the distance of two yards, with a book in his hand. After this (being first sworn not to divulge what had been done) they put the body in a blanket, which they conveyed to a ploughed field at some distance, where they buried it, but in about eight days after, lest the plough should turn up the body, it was taken up and carried to a church-yard about two miles off, and there again buried.

The fourth evidence produced by the crown, was John Lonergan, who swore, that being sent by his uncle, one Guinan, to the house of English, where Bridge had been, that on his way, between the hours of ten and twelve at night, he heard the noise of a number of people, by whom not caring to be seen, he concealed himself in a ditch; where he was discovered by Thomas M'Grath, who brought him out of the ditch, and put him on horse-back behind the priest, with whom he rode some time, and on the way dis-

covered the body of a dead man, wrapt up in a blanket, before a person on horseback, and through a hole in the blanket, saw the head all bloody, and that there was a number of persons attending it, both on foot and horseback, of whom he knew father Sheehy, Edmond Meehan, Buck Sheehy, Thomas McGrath, Bartholomew Kenneley, and John Toohy, and that when they came to a turn of the road, the priest let him down, directing him the shortest way home, and gave him three half crowns, charging him not to mention to his uncle, or any one else, what he had seen that night, and that he understood from the conversation of the people, that the dead body was that of John Bridge.

Here we shall close the evidence for the crown, and proceed with the evidence in behalf of the prisoner, for whom James Prendergast, Esq; was the first that appeared; he attempted to prove an *alibi*, by swearing, that on the 28th of October, 1764, the day on which the fact was committed, he and the prisoner, with their wives, dined at the house of Mr. Joseph Tennison near Ardfinan in the county of Tipperary; where they continued until after supper, and that it was about eleven o'clock when he and the prisoner left the house of Mr. Tennison, and rode a considerable way together on their return to their respective homes, and that the prisoner had his wife behind him; that when they parted, he (Mr. Prendergast) rode directly home, where, on his arrival, he looked at the clock, and found it to be the hour of twelve exactly, and that as to the day he was positive and particular, the day following, the 29th, being the Fair-day of Clogheen; that he had desired the prisoner to sell some bullocks for him at the Fair, not being able to give his attendance; and that Paul Webber of Cork, butcher, was in treaty for the said bullocks with the prisoner at the said Fair, on the 29th.

Mr. Tennison was next examined, who declared he remembered the prisoner and Mr. Prendergast dining  
with

with him some time in the month of October 1764, but as to the day, was inclined to believe it was earlier in the month than the 28th, for that on the 29th September he dined with the corporation of Clonmell; that on the Wednesday following he dined with the prisoner and Mr. Prendergast, at the prisoner's house, and that day he invited the prisoner and his wife, with Mr. Prendergast and his wife, to dine with him the Sunday following, and was positive that company did not dine with him on any other day in the month of October

Paul Webber of Cork, butcher, swore, that he was at the Fair of Clogheen on the 29th of October 1764, where he saw the prisoner, but was not in treaty with him for any bullocks belonging to Mr. Prendergast, but the prisoner told him, that Mr. Prendergast had some bullocks on his lands to dispose of, on which he sent a person to Mr. Prendergast's house, who bought them from him.

Thomas Mason, shepherd to the prisoner, was the next person produced; who swore to the night and hour of the prisoner's return above mentioned, and that he took from his master his horse, and turned him out to the field. The following persons were also produced by the prisoner, to discredit the testimony of John Toohy: viz. Bartholomew Griffith, surgeon, Daniel Griffith, and John Day, servant to Brooke Brasier, Esq;

The purport of the evidence given by Bartholomew Griffith was to confront Toohy, who, in the course of the examination, being asked by the prisoner, who gave him the new cloaths he then had on? answered, they were given him by his uncle Bartholomew Griffith, who, being examined, denied it. Daniel Griffith declared, that Toohy was, on the 28th and 29th of October 1764, at his house at Cullen; on this the crown called upon Richard Chadwick of Ballynard in the county of Tipperary, Esq; who being sworn, de-



clared that Daniel Griffith was a person not to be credited upon his oath on that occasion.

John Day swore, that Toohy lived for six weeks with his master Brooke Brasier, Esq; when he behaved very ill, and was a person of bad character; but Mr. Brasier declared he did not know the said Toohy, but that a person was in his family for that time of a very bad character, but that he did not know him.

The foregoing evidence of James Herbert for the crown, was very circumstantial, and was not attempted to be invalidated, either in regard to his testimony or character; Mr. Herbert came to the assizes of Clonmell, in order to give evidence in favour of father Sheehy; but his arrival being made known to the grand jury (who before had found bills of high treason against him) they had not an opportunity before of having him taken, as they knew not his person; they sent for Toohy, who said he knew him very well, and would assist to take him; upon this William Bagnell, Esq; attended Toohy, with some of the light-horse, went in pursuit of him, and soon took him; when being told on what occasion he was secured, said, that if accepted of, he would make a full confession, would discover the rise and meetings of the White-Boys, and their intentions; acknowledged himself guilty of what he was accused, and had no reason to expect mercy from the government, but in doing all in his power to serve it; to this he was led by the appearance of Toohy, whom he knew able to convict him of the murder of John Bridge. The taking up of this accomplice gave room for some to report, that the evidences in favour of father Sheehy, were intimidated, and that he was deprived of the means to defend himself, and shew his innocence.— Never had prisoners more indulgence, every thing being allowed by which they could advantage; but sure it must not be insinuated, that the securing of an accomplice, is depriving a prisoner of an evidence.— I shall particularise one instance in which the court indulged

indulged the prisoners, which was to change their drefs before John Lonergan swore to the identity of their persons ; who, notwithstanding their disguise, and their being mixed with a number of people, pointed them out distinctly with the cryer's staff.

Mr. James Buxton, commonly called captain Buxton, on account of the power he had over the people he commanded, was the next person put to the bar to be tried, but the fact of which he was accused being the same for which Mr. Edmond Sheehy was convicted, and the evidence to support the prosecution the same, it is not necessary to say more, than that the testimony, which has been already related, was in every particular supported by the additional evidence of Mr. Thomas Bier, who was an accomplice, acknowledged being present when they all *swore allegiance to the French king*, and to murder John Bridge, &c. and that too in consequence of a letter he received from father Sheehy ; he was admitted an evidence to support facts, so as not to admit of any doubt, being of a very high nature. From him and Mr. James Herbert an effectual discovery is expected to be made ; Mr. Bier, in his testimony, declared, that at the time Bridge was murdered, the priest was within two or three yards of the unfortunate man, holding the book, on which he a little before had pressed and exhorted him to swear for the purpose, as has been already mentioned.

Mr. James Farrel, commonly called Buck Farrel, being a young man of a genteel appearance, was the last convicted, and on the joint evidence of the prosecutors.

Tuesday, the 15th of April, they received sentence to be executed the 3d of May in the town of Clogheen.

The following persons, viz. Edmond Burke, John Burke, John Butler, Bartholomew Kenneley, Hugh Hayes, William Fling, Thomas Magrath, and Roger Sheehy, were acquitted of the murder of John Bridge ;

\* The court was so indulgent as to suppose no other of the party then assembled, to be guilty of the murder, but such as immediately surrounded the unfortunate man.

but

but several of them were ordered to give bail for their appearance at the bar of the king's-bench, on the 28th of April instant, to answer to the charge of high treason.

The general character of the prisoners, until this unfortunate affair, was very respectable, as they lived in affluence and with reputation, associated with the gentlemen of their neighbourhood, with whom they lived in the highest hospitality, frequently receiving and returning visits. Their influence must have been considerable, otherwise they could not have brought after them, and insisted the number of people they did, who were regularly trained and exercised in the military way with arms by their own officers; and it appears, that such as were engaged were subject to martial law, by which they were tried on misbehaviour. It was in resentment of a whipping, which was inflicted on John Bridge with remarkable severity, to which he was sentenced by one of their court-martials, that led him to give evidence against them, by which he lost his life.

We have already mentioned the respectable situation of these unhappy people, which must have afforded them as much comfort as they could expect, but whatever degree of surprize must be raised in the minds of our readers on account of their behaviour, it must be greatly heightened when they reflect on what could possibly be the inducement that led a clergyman, one esteemed by his flock, amongst whom he enjoyed an income of above two hundred pounds a year, and whose profession should have led him to promote peace and obedience to the laws, both human and divine; to such as personally knew him, he appeared in the character of a plain man, free from design, but over this there must have been laid the most artful disguise, otherwise he could not have acted his part so powerfully and effectually as he has done. Such attempts must become very dangerous to the state, where men can be found so implicitly to give up all thoughts of  
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their temporal, as well as eternal welfare, submitting to the guidance of another's will, " who put *bitter* for *sweet*, and *sweet* for *bitter*," and totally divest themselves of that monitor, which has been more immediately placed in them for their conduct ; but if we consider what has been done in other countries, and that too, where the religion they profess might be expected to have been their security, our surprise must cease, their situation has been no better than our own ; but they have had the wisdom to expel the authors of their troubles to a banishment, 'tis apprehended too fatal to us.

*An authentic narrative of the death and execution of Mr. Edmond Sheehy, Mr. James Buxton, and Mr. James Farrel, who suffered at Clogheen on the 3d of May, 1766, for the murder of John Bridge ; with their declarations carefully compared with those in the hands of Mr. Butler, sub-sheriff of the county of Tipperary, who received them from the unfortunate people, at the place of execution ; and attested by him. Taken from Exshaw's Magazine for May, 1766.*

TO THE PUBLISHER.

Sir,

THROUGH the channel of your magazine, we have received the best accounts of the proceedings at Clonmell, on the special commission lately held there, which has produced a catastrophe not less melancholy to their respective families, who feel it, than to the kingdom in general ; for how disturbed must be the state, where many of the inhabitants (not of the meaner sort) are convicted of crimes, which, if effected, would have destroyed the constitution.

In your last magazine you gave the dying declaration the Rev. Mr. Sheehy, and by the inclosures you have an opportunity of doing the same in your next, by inserting the declarations of the other three unfortunate persons, who have lately suffered, not doubting but they

they will make an acceptable article in your collection ; for the curiosity of mankind has the strongest tendency to know every particular of the *very* unfortunate, as well as of those, who have been more remarkably otherwise ; the *minutiae* in both are expected.

There is not the least room to doubt of their authenticity, as they have been carefully compared with the originals, in the hands of the sub-sheriff, delivered to him by the criminals, at the place of execution, which they did with a peculiar sort of care, not doubting but they would be made as public, as that of father Sheehy's, who was careful to convey his, to a very respectable person, who (he knew) could immediately disclose it to the fountain, from whence mercy would flow, had not the preservation of the peace, and the public good forbade it.

The total denial of facts, of which they were convicted, runs through the whole, and I cannot avoid saying, to the astonishment of all here ; for criminals never had a more respectable and dispassionate jury ; a jury as well inclined to serve them, as their country ; but an eclclaircissement is reserved to another day, for those that require it.

The sheriff, who proceeded with decency, called upon the prisoners early in the morning of the 3d instant, so as to leave the goal of Clonmell for Clogheen, about six o'clock, to which place he was attended, by the regiment of light dragoons, commanded by lieutenant colonel Harcourt, and two companies of Armiger's foot ; these the commander had previously made ready for the purpose, by an order from government. Edmond Sheehy and James Buxton were put on the same car, James Farrel on the next, and the executioner on another, with his apparatus, and the gallows so contrived as to be immediately put together ; they thus proceeded in awful procession to Clogheen, where they arrived about twelve o'clock, the distance being above eleven miles.

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In the most open part of the village, the gallows was erected, and that in a very short time, while the prisoners remained at a small distance in devotion with their priest, for about two hours, when it was thought necessary to execute the sentence the law of their country had doomed them to suffer: They were then all three put upon one car, and drawn under the gallows, where, after remaining some time they were tied up, and in that situation each read his declaration, and afterwards handed it to the sheriff.

Sheehy met his fate, with the most undaunted courage, and delivered his declaration with as much composure of mind, as if he had been repeating a prayer; when this awful scene was finished, they were turned off, upon at signal given by Sheehy, who seemed in a sort of exultation, and sprung from the car; he was dead immediately, and after the criminals had hung some time, they were cut down, and the executioner severed their heads from their bodies, which were delivered to their respective friends.

Sheehy's intrepid behaviour, set off by an engaging person, attracted much pity and compassion from all present; but the most oppressive part of this tragic scene yet remains to be told, when I say, that Sheehy has left a widow with five children to bemoan his unhappy fate, Buxton three, and Farrell, who had not been married more than three months, has left his wife pregnant; they were all buried the evening of that day, as particularly requested by themselves, where we hope they rest, having made atonement for their crimes, and let not the imputation of the fathers misfortunes be remembered to the prejudice of their families.

Cashell,  
May 28th,  
1766.

Your constant Reader, &c.

*The dying declaration of Mr. Edmond Sheeby, delivered at the place of execution, to Mr. Butler, sub-sheriff of the county of Tipperary.*

**A**S I am shortly to appear before the great tribunal of God, where I expect, thro' the passion and sufferings of my Redeemer, to be forgiven the many crimes and offences, which I have committed against so great and merciful a God : I sincerely forgive the world, I forgive my judges, jury, prosecutors, and every other person, who had a hand in spilling my innocent blood ; may the great God forgive them, bless them, and may they never leave this world, without sincerely repenting, and meriting that felicity, which I hope, through the wounds of Christ, soon to enjoy.

I think it incumbent, as well for the satisfaction of the public, as the ease of my own mind, to declare the truth as to every crime, with which I was impeached from the beginning, to the day of my conviction.

1st. The meeting at Kilcaroon, sworn by James Herbert, and the murder of John Bridge, sworn by him, and the rest of the informers.

2dly, The meeting at Ardfinan, sworn by Guinan, in October 1763, and several other meetings and treasonable practices, at all which I was sworn to be present, as the principal acting person.

3dly, That I had an hand in burning John Fearife's turf, and extirpating his orchard, taking arms from soldiers, burning Joseph Tennison's corn, levelling walls, and many other atrocious crimes against the peace and tranquillity of the present happy constitution.

1st. I now solemnly declare, that I did not see a White-boy since the year 1762, and then but twice or thrice ; and that I never was present at the levelling of the *rock of Cashell*, or any other wall, or commons,  
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in my life, nor even gave counsel or advice to have it done, or ever had any previous knowledge of any such intentions, nor do I know to this minute, any one man that was at the levelling of said wall.

2dly. I declare that I never saw Herbert, until the day of my trial, and that I never was at a meeting at Kilcaroon, never heard an oath of allegiance proposed nor administered in my life to any sovereign king or prince, never knew any thing of the murder of Bridge, until I heard it publicly mentioned, nor did I know there was any such design on foot, and if I had I would have hindered it, if in my power.

3dly. The battle of Newmarket, for which I was tried, I declare I never was at Newmarket, nor did I know there was a rescue intended, nor do I believe did any man in the county of Tipperary.

4thly. I declare that I never meant, or intended rebellion, high-treason, or massacre, or ever heard any such wicked scheme mentioned, or proposed, nor do I believe there were any such matters in view, and if there were, that I am wholly ignorant of them.

5thly. I declare that I never knew of either French or Spanish officers, commissions, or money paid those poor ignorant fools, called White-boys, or a man held in the light of a gentleman, connected with them.

I was often attacked, during my confinement in Kilkenny, by the Rev. Laurence Broderick, and the Rev. John Hewetson, to make useful discoveries\*, by bringing

\* However the intention may be to set these gentlemen, and others in a disagreeable light; who made the same tender of mercy, if merited by service done to government; they (in what they did) have acted very consistently with their duty, and the office they have in the peace. Crimes of a general and high nature are usually, I may say always, committed by numbers, and combinations are more difficult to fathom than the mischiefs done by individuals. These are the enemies that states have to fear, and against such every just polity will guard itself; and for this purpose government frequently makes a tender of mercy, not considering the weight of the criminal's guilt, but the pre-  
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bringing in men of weight and fortune; that there was an intended massacre and rebellion, French officers, commissions, and money paid, and by so doing that they would procure my pardon, difficult as it was.

The day after my trial Edmond Bagnell came to me from the Grand Jury, and told me, if I would put those matters in a clear light, that I would get my pardon: I made answer, that I would declare the truth; which would not be heard.—Sir William Baker's son, and Mr. Matthew Bunbury came to me the same evening, with words to the same purpose, to which I replied as before: nothing on this occasion would give sufficient content, without my proving the above, and that the *priest died with a lie in his mouth*, which was the phrase Mr. Hewetson made use of; I sent for Sir Thomas Maude the day of my sentence, and declared to him the meeting at Drumlemmon, where I saw nothing remarkable, but two or three fellows, who stole hay from Mr. John Keating, whipped \*, and sworn never to steal to the value of a shilling during life: I saw Thomas Beer there, which I told Sir Thomas and Mr. Bunbury, and begged of them never to give credit to Herbert, nor the rest, who knew nothing of the matter, except what Beer knew. I do declare I saw Beer take a voluntary oath, more than once in the jail of Clonmell, that he knew nothing of the murder, nor do I believe he did; may God forgive him, and the rest of those unhappy informers, and all those who had an hand in encouraging to swear away innocent lives.

he may be of, to avert dangers, and direct the rod of chastisement where it should fall; this prudence directs, and justice requires, in order to protect the innocent from falling a victim, who frequently are the scape-goat, and under whose misfortunes the guilty shelter themselves.

These reflections, which are founded on historical facts, must take off whatever odium may be intended on the part these gentlemen have acted for, the service of their country.

\* *Quere*, By what court power was this punishment inflicted?

I further declare, that I have endeavoured, as much as was in my power, to suppress the spirit of the White-boys, where I thought or suspected the least spark of it to remain.

May the great God open the eyes of those gentlemen, and incline their hearts to truth and mercy, not to be biassed nor hurried on, by party or particular prejudices, to persevere any longer, in falsely representing those matters to the best of Kings, and to the humanest and best of governments, which I pray God may long continue.

The above is a sincere and honest declaration, as I expect to see God, nor would I make any other for the universe, which is clear to the gentlemen, who offered me life, if I would comply.

I die in the 33d year of my age, an unworthy member of the church of Rome, the Lord have mercy on my soul, Amen, Amen.

I was informed that Mr. Tennison's corn was burnt by one of his own servants, but accidentally, and that since my confinement; I thought so always.

Signed by me this 2d of May, 1766.

EDMOND SHEEHY.

Present,  
JAMES BUXTON,  
JAMES FARREL.

N. B. This declaration was not in the hand-writing of Mr. Sheehy, but signed by him, and witnessed by the two other criminals.



*The dying Declaration of Mr. James Buxton, delivered at the Place of Execution, to Mr. Butler, Sub-sheriff of the County of Tipperary.*

**W**HEREAS I, the said James Buxton, was arraigned at my trial, for having aided, and assisted, at many flagrant crimes against his majesty's laws and government, since the rise of the White-boys; upon the information of Michael Guinan and John Toohy: now I think it proper to satisfy the public by this declaration, which I make to God and the world, concerning my knowledge in these matters.

1st. As to the murder of John Bridge; I solemnly declare, in the presence of God, before whose holy tribunal I shortly expect to appear, that I neither consulted or advised, aided or abetted, nor had the least notion of any that did, to the killing of John Bridge; nor did my prosecutor John Toohy (by virtue of the aforesaid declaration) ever serve me an hour since I was born; neither did I ever lay my eyes on him, to the best of my knowledge, but one night on the 18th of September last, when he lay at my house, and went by the name of Lucius O' Brien: he was pursued next morning by one William O' Brien of Clonmell, whom he robbed of some cloaths two days before, and was taken in Clogheen for the same robbery; and said Brien's cloaths and other things found upon him, for which he was committed to goal, and there turned approver.

As to every other thing that Michael Guinan and said Toohy swore against me; I further solemnly declare in the presence of my great God, that I neither did any thing, nor was at any meeting, or levelling, that ever they swore against me, except Dromlemon; and, upon the word of a dying man, neither of them was there; nor was any man, upon the same word of a dying man, that was yet apprehended, or suffered, in my belief, concerned in the murder of Bridge; and that I verily believe, and am persuaded, no prosecutor,

secutor, that yet appeared, was present at, or any ways concerned in that murder; though Thomas Beere (God forgive him!) swore " That he and I " were within two yards of John Bridge, when he was " murdered by Edmund Meaghan, with a stroke of " a bill-kook."

Secondly, I solemnly protest and declare, in the presence of my great God, that I never heard, or ever learned, of a rebellion intended in this kingdom; nor ever heard of, nor ever saw, any French officers or French money coming into this kingdom; nor ever heard that any merchant supplied, or intended to supply, any money for the White-boys, or any other occasion; nor ever saw, heard, or could find out, that any allegiance was sworn to any prince or potentate in the world, but to his present majesty king GEORGE the third: and, I further declare, on my dying words, that I never knew, nor discovered, nor even imagined, that any massacre whatsoever was intended against any person or persons in this kingdom; and I declare, in the presence of almighty God, that I positively believe, and am persuaded, that if any of the foregoing treacherous and treasonable combinations were to be carried on, I would have learned, or heard, something of them.

Thirdly, that last assizes of Kilkenny, where I stood indicted, and was arraigned, for the battle of Newmarket, the R. Mr. H-----n, and the R. Mr. B-----k, tampered with me for six hours, and more, setting forth the little chance I had for my life there. (Kilkenny) and though I should, that I would have none at all at Clonmell; but that they would write to lord C-----k immediately to procure my pardon, if I would turn *approver*, and swear to an *intended rebellion, treasonable conspiracies*, and a *massacre*; and all this against the principal *popish clergy and gentlemen* of my country, whose names they had set down in a long piece of paper; but wanted particularly to swear

against 'squire Wife, Philip Long, Dominick Farrell, Martin Murphy, Dr. C-----h, and Nicholas Lee; and that I should also swear that priest Sheehy *died with a lie in his mouth*; likewise that I was at the battle of Newmarket, and received a letter from one Edmund Tobin to be at the said battle; and this, in order to corroborate the Informer Toohy's oath, and the oaths of three others who swore they saw me there; one in particular swore he broke his fire-lock on my head.

Now, as I expect salvation from the hands of God, I neither received a message or letter, nor heard, nor discovered, that this battle of Newmarket was to be; nor knew any thing of it, until it was advertised: and I further declare, in the presence of my great God, that I never was nearer this place they call Newmarket, than the turn-pike road that leads from Dublin to Corke; for I never was two yards eastwards of that road.

As to the scheme of the White-boys, (as far as I could find out, in the parish of Tubrid, where I lived) nothing was meant but putting a stop to the oppressive and arbitrary valuations of tythe-jobbers: and for this end, the people agreed to deal with none but the immediate proprietors, and also to detect rogues, and robbers, and hinder their mischievous practices: as to levelling, that I never, found out any such thing to have been committed in said parish, of any consequence; but one ditch belonging to John Griffin, of Kilcoran; nor was I ever privy to any wall or ditch being ever levelled by White-boys, in the county of Tipperary, or any other county. I also declare that I never approved of the proceedings of levellers, and that I frequently advised all such as I suspected of such vile practices, to desist; for that they would at length bring a scourge upon the innocent, as well as the guilty.

Given under my hand this 2d day of May, 1766.

JAMES BUXTON.

*The*

*The dying Declaration, of Mr. James Farrell, delivered at the Place of Execution, to Mr. Butler, Sub Sheriff of the County of Tipperary.*

**A**S I am shortly to appear before the divine tribunal, where I expect, through the passion of our Redeemer, to be forgiven the many crimes and offences which I committed against so great and just a God; I now sincerely forgive the world in general, and, particularly, those who have been the means of wrongfully spilling my blood.

The crimes that I am to die for, are, 1st. the murder of John Bridge.

2dly. The swearing allegiance at Kilcaroon;

3dly. The burning of Jos. Tennison's Corn, John Ferris's turf; and being concerned in all other things that belonged to the White-boys.

4thly. The being at the battle of Newmarket, which I stood a tryal for.

I am as innocent of the aforesaid crimes as the child unborn, as to either counselling, aiding, assisting in, or knowledge of said facts: I therefore think it proper to declare what the following gentlemen wanted me to do, in order to spill innocent blood, which was not in the power of any man in the world to make me do or perform.

On the day I was condemned, the following gentlemen, viz. the R. J----H---n, J---B---l, and some of the light-horse officers, came all with me from the court-house to the goal, where they carried me into a room, and told me it was in my power to save my life. I asked them how?---They told me, by swearing against the following persons, Martin Murphy, Philip Long of Waterford, and some merchants from Corke, likewise Bp. C-----h and lord D-----e's brother, and a good many other clergymen; also James Nagle, Robert Keating, John Purcell, Thomas Dogherty, Thomas Long, John Baldwin, Thomas Butler of Grange, Nicholas Lee, with a great many other gentlemen of the county of Tipperary, and responsible

ponsible farmers; as encouraging French officers in the enlisting of men for the French service, in order to raise a rebellion in this kingdom; and that they distributed French money.

They also said, that in case they should get a person to do all these things, it would not do, without my swearing to the murder of John Bridge; to concur with the rest of the informers, and strengthen their evidence.

I solemnly declare to his divine Majesty, that I was never present at the levelling a ditch or wall in my life; nor was ever at a meeting, of any kind, of the White-boys.

I declare also, that I had neither hand or part in bringing James Herbert from the county of Limerick; and that, to the best of my knowledge, he swore not one word of truth; in particular, what he swore against me was undoubtedly false. The great God bless all my prosecutors, and all other persons who had a hand in spilling my innocent blood, which the divine tribunal knows to be so.

*Given under my hand this 2d. day of May, - 1766.*

JAMES FARRELL.



*Extract of a letter from Clonmell, Septem'ber the 25th,  
1766.*

— ONE Broderick, a felon, under a rule of transportation, (when they were taking him with other prisoners transmitted about ten days ago to Limerick, in order to be thence transported, stopped at the great door of Clonmell-goal, and harangued the people present, and told them, “ of the wicked methods, which were taken to prevail upon several of the prisoners, *to swear against innocent people*; particularly upon himself, *who had been always bred a protestant.*” He named the persons that attacked him, particularly the r—d Mr. D\*\*\*\*s, the r—d Mr. M\*\*\*\*e, and another cl---gy---n, and said a great deal of c--p--n M\*\*\*\*e; then began to mention the three c--ck--lds: Upon which the sheriff immediately stood up, and checked him; whereupon he stopped.

F I N I S.



